00087227

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hemendra Kothari
on 06 November, 2019

THE JONAH LEGEND

Publisher's Announcements

The Evolution of the Idea of God: an Inquiry into the Origins of Religions. *Demy 8vo. Buckram. 20s. net.*

The Human Machine: an Inquiry into the Diversity of Human Faculty in its Bearings upon Social Life, Religion, Education, and Politics. By J. F. NISBET, Author of 'The Insanity of Genius.' *Crown 8vo. 6s.* [*Third Edition.*

The Philosophy of Greece: considered in its relation to the Character and History of its People. By A. W. BENN. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Pioneers of Evolution from Thales to Huxley, with an Intermediate Chapter on the Causes of Arrest of the Movement. With Portraits in Photogravure. By EDWARD CLODD. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

Logic, Deductive and Inductive. By CARVETH READ, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

GRANT RICHARDS,
9 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN
LONDON, W.C.

FIGURE WITH PISCINE VESTMENT
From Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 329,
where it is described as 'Oannes, the Assyrian Dagon.'

Frontispiece.

THE JONAH LEGEND

A SUGGESTION OF INTERPRETATION

BY WILLIAM SIMPSON

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

AUTHOR OF 'THE BUDDHIST PRAYING-WHEEL'

MATSYA AVATAR OF VISHNU

87227

BOMBAY BRANCH R.A.S. JACKSON MEMORIAL COLLECTION. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

JRA.M-36

LONDON: GRANT RICHARDS

1899

JAC
398.2
Sim/Jon
87227

Edinburgh : T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THE author begs to thank Mr. John Murray and Messrs. George Bell and Sons for permission to reproduce the illustrations from Layard's *Nineveh,* Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians,* and Bonomi's *Nineveh.*

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTORY	1
II.	CEREMONIES HAVE BEEN TRANSMUTED INTO HISTORICAL EVENTS	13
III.	DRAMATIC ACTION OF CEREMONIES	26
IV.	INITIATORY RITES	34
V.	JONAH	97
VI.	INVESTITURE, ITS CONNECTION WITH INITIATION	109
VII.	THE FISH-GOD	123
APPENDIX		157

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure with Piscine Vestment . . . *Frontispiece*

Matsya Avatar of Vishnu . . . *Vignette on Title-page*

PAGE

Fish-Gods on Gems in British Museum . . . 12

Priest with Piscine Vestment (*Nineveh and Babylon*) . 33

Priest with Piscine Vestment (*Nineveh and Babylon*) . 96

Priest with Piscine Vestment. (From Kouyunjik, Nineveh) *To face page* 109

Egyptian Sem Priest. (From a Funeral Scene) „ 115

The Pérétié Plaque . . . . „ 121

Rameses III. officiating as a Priest 122

The Matsya, or Fish Incarnation of Vishnu *To face page* 126

Group from the Pérétié Plaque 156

The Ideogram or Hieroglyph for Nineveh . . . 157

Isis and Horus . . . . *To face page* 162

The Fish-God Khorsabad 176

'THE well-known modern interpretation of the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, or Herakles and Hesione, as a description of the Sun staying Darkness, has its connection with this group of legends. It is related in a remarkable version of this story that when the Trojan King Laomedon had bound his daughter Hesione to the rock, a sacrifice to Poseidon's destroying sea-monster, Herakles delivered the maiden, springing full armed into the fish's gaping throat, and coming forth painless after three days' hacking within. This singular story, probably in part of Semitic origin, combines the ordinary myth of Hesione or Andromeda with the story of Jonah's fish, for which indeed the Greek sculpture of Andromeda's monster served as the model in early Christian art, while Joppa was the place where vestiges of Andromeda's chains on the rock in front of the town were exhibited in Pliny's time, and the bones of a whale were carried to Rome as relics of Andromeda's monster. To recognise the place which the nature-myth of the Man swallowed by the monster occupies in mythology, among remote and savage races and onward among the higher nations, affects the argument of a point of Biblical criticism. It strengthens the position of the critics who, seeing that the Book of Jonah consists of two wonder-episodes adapted to enforce two great religious lessons, no longer suppose intention of literal narrative in what they may fairly consider as the most elaborate parable of the Old Testament. Had the Book of Jonah happened to be lost in old times, and only recently recovered, it is indeed hardly likely that any other opinion of it than this would find acceptance among scholars.' —Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 339.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

'We are but just beginning to learn how ignorant we have been of the civilised past, and how false our ideas have been regarding it. We are but just beginning to realise that the fragments of Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament are the wrecks of a vast literature which extended over the ancient Oriental world from a remote epoch, and that we cannot understand them aright except in the light of the contemporaneous literature of which they formed a portion. We now know that this Hebrew literature was no isolated phenomenon, for the explanation of which extraordinary causes are required, and that the history embodied in it was based on literary records, and not on the shifting evidence of fantasy and tradition. The veil that has so long concealed the innermost shrine of the past has been lifted at last, and we have been permitted to enter, though it be as yet but a little way.'—*The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, 1894, p. 24.

'Old Testament history has been treated unfairly, alike by friend and foe.'—*Ibid.* p. 26.

'The way that most men deal with traditions, even traditions of their own country, is to receive them all alike as they are delivered, without applying any critical test whatever.'—THUCYDIDES, B. i. 20.

IF THUCYDIDES did really write these words which are attributed to him, he must have been far in advance of his time. We live now in a critical age, and all history, traditional or otherwise, is being tried by the test which the old historian indicated as being necessary. Still, it has taken a long time to reach this mental condition; and even yet it may be assumed that many will reject this method when applied to the story of Jonah. Biblical criticism,

although moving forward, is—as Professor Sayce affirms—still behind. The old literal mode of interpretation is persisted in; and the result is known that Biblical defenders have been repeatedly defeated, more particularly in their contests with modern science. These defenders may perhaps refuse to admit their defeat, because it may be said that they can still harmonise Scriptural statements with late scientific discoveries. This may be so; but the point here is, that to do this they have to alter the previous interpretation. This implies that a sufficient 'critical test' had not been applied before. If there were parts of the book that required to have the interpretation changed, there may still be other parts that require the same process; and the Book of Jonah may be one which ought to be subjected to this treatment.

The Bible is an Oriental book, full of Eastern thought; and it contains a great amount of ancient allegory and symbolism. Up to the present day its expounders have been mostly men of modern Western thought, and with comparatively little knowledge of the East. As yet the original home of the Semites has not been determined. From an early date they were in Arabia, and their worship is known by the word Sabæan, which is supposed to have been a primitive nature-worship, and included the sun, moon, and stars as objects of adoration. According to the Pentateuch, the Semites had a long connection with Egypt,—'four hundred and thirty years,' Exodus xii. 40. In Mesopotamia, long before the sojourn in Egypt, this peculiar race was in contact with the Accadians, and it is only within the last few years

that we have begun to learn through the cuneiform inscriptions the curious results which were produced. It was in this region that the Jonah legend, or at least its basis, originated,—a matter which will be dealt with further on. The point here is, that past commentators on Jonah have been in almost complete ignorance of the people and the ideas out of which the story has sprung. This is only restating what such a learned authority as Professor Sayce has declared.

It is the same with the old symbolism or allegory —the application of this Oriental form of expression has received little or no favour in Scriptural exegesis. The first chapters of Genesis are full of the early cosmical symbolism, and it would be difficult as yet to find any competent authority that has dealt with it. The size of the Ark, and the question of how many animals it could hold—a very barren subject—has been much discussed; but the old symbolism of the boat, and the cyclical destruction of all things, which form the foundation of the Deluge legend, will, no doubt, be taken up some day soon. Theologians write about Jacob's dream; but the primitive stone-worship—a notable point in the patriarch's doings—receives no notice. Other instances might be referred to, but these are sufficient to show how limited as yet has been the use of that knowledge which is dawning upon us as the beginning of more extended studies.

The antipathy of theologians to a figurative interpretation of Scripture has long been manifest. Hooker says, 'that where a passage of the Word of God would bear a literal interpretation, the farthest from the letter was generally the worst; it is a dangerous

kind of art which, like alchemy, changeth the nature of metals; it maketh of anything what it listeth, and in the end bringeth all truth to nothing.' This rule could scarcely apply to the story of Jonah, as the nearer to the letter in that case would most likely be the worse interpretation. Hooker's words were no doubt justified by the efforts of writers in his time, —and others have repeated the same process since— who evolved new meanings out of their inner consciousness, and thus brought truth to nothing, or to anything the writers wished. That will not be the process of the newer criticism. It will be the comparative method. It will mean the careful collection of data, combined with a close investigation of identity of meaning. The comparative method has been successful in other departments of study; and in proper hands it will be equally successful in this. Blunders will no doubt be made—blunderers will be among the workers — these are the common incidents of all experiments, in every walk of life; but a correct method will survive mishaps of that kind.

It is difficult to believe that the literal interpretation of Jonah could have continued as an accepted verity down to the end of the nineteenth century. Yet such seems to be the case. Learned men, and, it may be accepted, good men, write seriously and solemnly on the subject. They do not know how many scoffers that story has produced. If Doctors of Divinity could—and without the cloth of their calling—mix at times with the ordinary mortals of our race, they might hear how 'Jonah and his fish' are spoken of.

It may be of some interest to hear what a good

authority can say in justification of his accepting the story of Jonah as it has come down to us. The writers of the articles in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* are assumed to be the best authorities of the time on the subjects they treated upon. Here is what the author of the article upon 'Jonah' has to say:—'We feel ourselves precluded from any doubt of the reality of the transactions recorded in this book, by the simplicity of the language itself; by the historical allusions in Tob. xiv. 4-6, 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 2; by the accordance with other authorities of the historical and geographical notices; by the thought that we might as well doubt all other miracles in Scripture as doubt these; . . . Above all, by the explicit words and teaching of our blessed Lord Himself [Matt. xii. 39, 41, xiv. 4; Luke xi. 29], and by the correspondence of the miracles in the histories of Jonah and of the Messiah.' We may suppose this is the best that can be said on the subject. It will be noticed that there is no direct evidence here, it is all circumstantial. Reasons are given why the writer is precluded from doubt. The first of these is rather surprising; it is 'the simplicity of the language.' Simplicity of language is a very common merit in the generality of Oriental stories—credible or otherwise; and if the writer is willing to swallow all that has this characteristic, he will require a power of deglutition quite as great as that of Jonah's fish. The second reason implies that if a story is repeated once or twice it must be true—rather a startling test of truth to lay down. The next reason would require an essay on miracles to reply to it, and that cannot be ventured upon here. The last reason assumes

that a type or similitude must be true or historically authentic. This may be doubted. Parables are only another form of similitudes, but no one would think of asking for the exact name and address of the Prodigal Son's father. Modern writers often make figurative use of characters in such books as the *Iliad*, and no one would raise the question as to whether the Tale of Troy was historical or not. All that is required in a type is, that the figure referred to is so familiar, it can be easily recognised by the reader.

The above shows the complete weakness of the case. The evidence produced, taking each point separately, or the whole collectively, amounts to nothing. It is merely an effort to say the best that can be said in favour of a previously accepted conclusion. No 'critical test,' such as the words of Thucydides require, has been applied. The writer stands on the dangerous ground that if he doubts this miracle, as he calls it, he may doubt all the others in the Scriptures. He finds himself in the position that the whole scheme of his theology will tumble down about his ears unless he believes that Jonah was swallowed by a large fish. What a delightful position to be in! Here is a learned man of the nineteenth century,—who may be taken as a representative of many others—whose whole scheme of spiritual and moral thought depends upon an old legend, for which no evidence can be produced, and which has not been subjected to any 'critical test,' so that its real meaning might be discovered. Let it be remembered that witchcraft, and the burning of poor old women, were defended on exactly the same ground, that if you disbelieved Scripture on one

point, you must reject the whole book. We sneer now at the great authorities who expressed themselves in this way; and in the future there is pretty sure to be some scoffing at the learned Church dignitaries who cannot relieve themselves from this very awkward story of Jonah and his Fish.

It may be observed also that no explanation is forthcoming why it was necessary that a prophet had to be three days and nights in a fish, either as a type, a prophecy, or as an evidence of the resurrection. It might have been supposed that that great event—the Resurrection, the necessary supplement of the Death, the two forming the central point of the Divine Drama—would have had a perfect sufficiency in itself, and that it would not have required anything extraneous to add to its authenticity. The word type has become like the 'blessed word Mesopotamia'—it has only to be uttered, and nothing further is necessary. The types on this account have been largely written about, and are a favourite theme in sermons, but it is always omitted to mention that they entirely failed in their purpose: that was to prepare the Jewish mind for the advent of the Messiah. That was exactly the thing that they did not accomplish. They were an entire failure, and it is difficult to understand how the story of Jonah could have produced any better result. As an historical event, if it be so considered, according to the Book, no one can have seen the prophet go into the fish after he sank into the sea; but even supposing the swallowing process was visible, no one is mentioned as being present when he was disgorged again. It need not be disputed but the story was

well known, it is only maintained here that the facts of the case could not have been clearly established if they took place as recorded in the Book of Jonah. There are two pillars near Alexandretta which are said to mark the place where Jonah was vomited: Josephus says it was on the shores of the Euxine Sea, but he does not record the existence of witnesses. It does not follow from this that no one was present when the occurrence took place, but the impression conveyed by both accounts is that the main features of the legend could not have been seen by many persons; and the thing that has to be explained is, how an obscure event like that could possibly be necessary either to foretell, or to authenticate, the Resurrection of the Lord of the Universe. Jonah was a type of the resurrection, hence he was supposed to return from the dead: now Christ Himself ignores evidence from such a source. He says, 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.'[1] It is not forgotten here that the sign of the Prophet Jonah was appealed to; but it will be a part of the theory in these pages to show that the story of Jonah was in reality a very different one from that contained in the ordinary interpretation of the book that is known by that name.

There was another method of treating all such legends, which might be considered as the opposite of the manner already dealt with. This is generally expressed in rather strong language, and amounts to an assertion that such tales were all fraudulent impostures, got up by designing priests. This method

[1] Luke xvi. 31.

also has the virtue of simplicity. Knowledge could be done without, and no dry inquiry into the thoughts or customs of the past had to be studied in order to reach this conclusion. We may assume that there were designing priests at all times, but such characters will not account for all that is known now about myths and legends. No comparative mythologist would endorse statements such as these in the present day. Myths, it is now known, were growths. They came into existence at first in some simple form, and were developed under certain conditions; these conditions had among them a large amount of credulity, combined with a very imperfect knowledge of the laws of the universe. There is no reason to doubt now but the 'designing priests' believed in these strange tales as well as the masses. Priests of the present day, whom no one would accuse of being designing, still believe in the story of Jonah. The writer of the article in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* is a priest, and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. If priests in our own time accept such legends, why need we suppose that priests of earlier times were less credulous?

To illustrate this theory of the growth of legends, a much later instance than that of Jonah can be brought forward. At Loretto, in Italy, is the celebrated Casa Santa, which is reputed to be the actual house the Virgin lived in at Nazareth. The legend is that when the Saracens, in 1291, took Nazareth, the house, which had become a chapel, was carried by the angels to Loretto. Inside, the house is affirmed to be exactly in the same condition that it was when in its original position; externally, it is now covered with marble,

richly decorated with sculptures, one of which represents the angels flying through the air and bearing the house, with the Virgin sitting on the roof, and the Child in her lap. A large domed structure surrounds and covers the whole. A magnificent church is attached to the shrine, and a body of priests are there to attend to the pilgrims. The sacristy of the place is rich with the costly offerings of popes, kings, and wealthy people. Here is a legend which has established itself, and one that is as incredible as the story of Jonah. In the present day it may be assumed that it is quite unnecessary to discuss the question as to whether such an event as that of the house being carried through the air took place or not. Such a story is not likely to have been started all at once—even a 'designing priest' would not have risked the attempt. The thirteenth century was an age of credulity; but the Casa Santa had at first to be erected, and those who saw that taking place could not be told that it had come through the air from Nazareth. The suggestion which has now been made makes the whole affair very simple, and it goes upon what may be called the growth theory. When Nazareth was taken by the Muhammadans, the house was most probably destroyed, and the monks were either killed or sent off. Some of them must have returned to Italy, for the sacred figure of the Virgin and Child—a picture, said to have been 'framed by St. Luke'—as well as some other articles, still to be seen in the house, are supposed to have come from Nazareth—these must have been carried by some one, and the monks' arrival explains that. Coming from such a holy place, these monks would be visited, and

would have to describe the spot they had left; ultimately they would construct an imitation of it as a chapel in which to place the sacred figure and relics; this would be described as an exact copy; its resemblance would continue to be affirmed till it was declared to be the very house itself. This certainly may have required a generation or so to have come and gone. Such a character added to the repute of the place, brought pilgrims and votive offerings: the miraculous character having been established, the angels bringing the house through the air was an easy method, according to the notions of the period, of accounting for what was already an accepted fact. This gives a simple and quite a possible explanation of the legend.

The Jonah story has the same point of similarity: it was not fabricated, it must have grown; and the task will be to trace out the conditions in the past which could have originated and developed it.

The theory regarding the origin of the Jonah story to be explained in these pages, will be, that it was an initiatory legend. To establish this it will be necessary in the first place to show that the legends of ceremonies have in the course of time become established as events that really took place. It will also be shown that ceremonies, including those of an initiatory character, were often dramatic, and the legend was a story that was performed as a piece of acting. It can also be shown that initiatory rites are very ancient, and that they were regenerative in their symbolism; the novitiate went through rites that implied a simulating of death, which was followed by a new birth,—often this was symbolised by pretending

to descend into the underworld, and returning again from it. It will be shown that this is what took place as it is related in the Book of Jonah. The symbolism of the fish, the dove, water, etc., will also be dealt with, for they are intimately connected with the story.

FISH-GODS ON GEMS IN BRITISH MUSEUM
(LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*).

CHAPTER II

CEREMONIES HAVE BEEN TRANSMUTED INTO HISTORICAL EVENTS

'The whole mythus sprang from the worship, and not the worship from the mythus.'—*Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, by C. O. MÜLLER, p. 175.

'No people ever observed a custom because a mythical being was said to have once acted in a certain way. But, on the contrary, all peoples have invented myths to explain why they observed certain customs.'—*The Golden Bough*, by J. G. FRAZER, vol. ii. p. 128.

'At all events, if it can be made probable that rites like those described in the Balder myth have been practised by Norsemen and by other European peoples, we shall be justified in inferring that the ritual gave birth to the myth, not the myth to the ritual. For while many cases can be shown in which a myth has been invented to explain a rite, it would be hard to point to a single case in which a myth has given rise to a rite. Ritual may be the parent of myth, but can never be its child.'—*Ibid.* p. 246.

WHEN it first occurred to the writer of these pages that ceremonies had at an early period become legends, and that these legends had been afterwards woven into history as events that had taken place, it appeared as if a new light had been found, and one that would perhaps explain many of the strange things we find recorded in the past. At the time—now some years ago—the idea seemed to be an entirely new one, and so far as the writer is concerned it was original; but since then traces of a somewhat similar conception, but in rather a vague form, have been found in the works of previous authors; and the

quotations which head this chapter will show that others of a later date have grasped the same principle, and expressed it in something like the form of an axiomatic rule. This new method of treating the myths and legends of the past has not been accepted as yet for a long enough period to fully realise the value of its bearing on history. Let it be understood that this suggestion is not supposed to explain every tale that is marvellous in former times, but it may explain some—and in the present case we shall see how far it will help us to explain the story of Jonah.

C. O. Müller gives more than one instance which illustrates the application of this process. Among others, he refers to the myth of Hylas, who was the favourite attendant on Herakles during the Argonautic expedition. Hylas landed on the coast of Bithynia, near Cios, for water; his beauty excited the nymphs, who drew him into the well; Herakles sought for the boy, and went about calling out his name, but he was never found. This fable, Müller affirms, arose from a rite that was practised in the locality, where a god who had sunk into the waters was sought for with invocation and wailing at the fountains among the hills.[1] Müller remarks on this that the rite could not have 'its origin in the fable, especially as the Mariandynians, an aboriginal nation in a remoter part of Asia Minor, practised precisely the same ceremony, and its religious meaning is rendered clear by analogies. Now, if the mythus, then, sprang from the rite, by whom, I ask, was it most likely to have been formed? By the inhabitants of Cios, who them-

[1] *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, p. 49.

selves heard the lamentations, and would surely be the first to appropriate the tales of the peasantry, and incorporate them with the Hellenic legends of Hercules? or the Lacedæmonian poet Cinæthon, who was probably the first to introduce it into poetry? I think there cannot be a doubt as to the answer.'[1]

The legend of a serpent, or terrible beast of the dragon kind, being killed by a hero, is a common one to be found in some form or other in most parts of the old world. A very celebrated version of the story is said to have taken place at Delphi, and this particular instance may have had its origin in a ceremony; at least we have the authority of Strabo[2] and Plutarch,[3] that a performance was gone through, according to Plutarch, every ninth year, in which a 'Tabernacle of boughs' was set up as a representation of the 'dragon's den,' a battle ensued, in which the Python was despatched with arrows, and his tent or tabernacle was burned down. This was followed by sending a youth along the sacred way as far as the vale of Tempe, where, like Apollo, he was supposed to make atonement, thus expiating the act of taking life, and return with the branch of laurel. In Strabo's time a tent was still burned as a memorial of the events.

Müller refers to the legend of Athamas as another instance of the same kind. The destruction of Nephele's children, of which Athamas was the father, he says, grew out of an ancient worship of Zeus in the land of the Minyans, which required human sacrifices —'and that, too, from none other than the sacerdotal

[1] *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, p. 49.
[2] B. ix. 3 12.
[3] *Why the Oracles cease to give Answers*, p. 19.

race of Athamas.'[1] This, Müller considers, explains the whole story, and it is in reference to it he uses the words quoted at the beginning of this chapter—'the whole mythus sprang from the worship, and not the worship from the mythus.'

In India the story of the origin of the Ganges as related in the Râmâyana is evidently a derivation from ceremonial rites. The sixty thousand sons of Sagara had been destroyed by Kapila, and their bodies, or at least the ashes, lay and could not be transported to the celestial regions for want of the proper lustral water. Bhâgiratha, by means of a long course of austerities, at last caused the sacred river to descend from the regions above; by this means the remains of Sagara's sons were purified and translated to heaven. According to the legend, if the river had been allowed to fall direct upon the earth, the world would have been destroyed, but Siva placed his head underneath, on which the water fell, and the destruction was thus avoided. This last part of the story is manifestly derived from the Linga Pujah, or worship of Siva. The Linga represents Siva, and it is an erect pillar, on the top or head of which the Ganges water is poured in the ceremonial act. This is done in every Saivite temple in India at the present day. As lustral water for the dead, the sacred stream is still a necessity. To die on, and even in, the Ganges, is the desire of every Hindu. When the body is burned, the ashes are thrown into the Ganges, and as the water came from the celestial abode, it is believed that somehow it returns to the same place, and the ashes are by that means taken to heaven. This

[1] *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, p. 175.

explains why bodies of the dead may be seen floating down the river. Those who have not sufficient means to provide enough wood to consume the whole corpse to ashes, burn it as much as the wood they can procure will accomplish, and then it is thrown into the water. Those who are far away from the Ganges send some of the ashes to be thrown in. There is a great *mela*, or fair at Hardwar, held every year, to which pilgrims resort from all parts of India, and the ashes are sent by them. Here we have the ancient custom of anointing a sacred stone — which was common to a large portion of the eastern world — producing a mythic history of the origin of a river.

The Brahmanic system is such a vast collection of myths and ritual, there need be little doubt but many instances similar to the above might be found, if they were only looked for. In reading, many things pass unnoticed, when we are without the key that explains them. This principle, that myths were evolved from ritual is so new, its full value has not as yet been realised; time is necessary for its application, and then illustrations will be plentiful enough.

At present the only other instance that I can recall among Hindu myths is that of the three strides of Vishnu in the Dwarf Avatar. In this form Vishnu asked to be allowed to take three steps, and to be allowed to possess as much space as he could cover with them. Being only a dwarf, this was granted; but the three steps it was found included heaven, earth, and the lower regions. Now, in the *Satapatha Brâhmana* these are called 'the Vishnu Steps,' and are performed by the Brahman at certain

points of the ritual.[1] If the author of the *Golden Bough* is correct in his definition, the mythus here must have originated in three steps of the ritual; but I cannot feel so perfectly certain of it as to say that in no case a detail of a ceremony might not originate in the opposite way. As already stated, the principle is so new, it may perhaps require some slight modification as a guide in mythology.

With the Semites there is one example which appears to be a good illustration of the principle. The pilgrims at Mekka perform what is considered to be a very sacred part of the ceremonies; that is the *tawûf*, or circumambulation of the Kaabah. The reason given for this is, that the first Kaabah was an imitation of the celestial throne, which is constantly being circumambulated by the angels. Going round sacred places and things is not peculiar to the Semites; it is a ritualistic custom that can be traced through most parts of the ancient world, and in many cases it is continued down to our own times. Being part of the ritual at the Kaabah, it is not difficult to understand how it gave birth to the mythus of the angels and the throne.

If the story of Jonah should be found within the possibility of explanation by means of this new theory, it might be expected that there are other parts of Scripture that will also be solved by the

[1] *Sat. Brâhm.* v. 4, 2, 6, vi. 7, 2, 10. Sacred Books of the East, vol. xli. pp. 96, 275. Râjendralâla Lala Mitra gives the details of a Râjasúya, or 'Imperial Coronation in Ancient India.' At one part of the elaborate ceremonial the Emperor, Yudhishtâra, left his seat,—'and then took three steps forward, symbolically to represent the subjugation of the three regions, repeating for each act a separate mantra. The three steps were the counterpart of those by which Vishnu spanned the earth, the upper regions, and heaven.'—*Indo-Aryans*, vol. ii. p. 43.

same rule. It may be suggested that to a certain extent a new light may be shed by it on the Exodus. There has been much speculation on that event, but as yet very little, in fact it may be said no progress has been made in clearing up its true signification. Even the elaborate and very learned theory of a new route of the Exodus, that was proposed by Brugsch Bey, has fallen to the ground and is now all but forgotten. Now, it may be pointed out, that whatever else the Exodus may have been, it was in reality a pilgrimage—pilgrimages being a very old form of religious observance or custom. Journeys of that kind were made to places which were believed to have a sacred character; and Mount Sinai was a sacred spot, and a place of pilgrimage. The people went out of Egypt—'the House of Bondage'—and went up to the Divine Presence. That is an earthly pilgrimage, typical of the spiritual pilgrimage through life. The Jews' pilgrimage to Jerusalem was also made to the Divine Presence, which was believed to exist in the Temple. This ceremonial custom was binding on them, just as the pilgrimage to Mekka is incumbent on the Muhammadans. The first suggestion that the Exodus had been a pilgrimage occurred to me after having seen the ceremony of the Mekka pilgrims starting on their journey at Cairo, taking with them the *Kiswah*, commonly called the 'Holy Carpet'; it struck me at the moment that it had some resemblance to the Jews starting across the desert, but I chanced to ask how far they would go that morning, and was told only to an encampment a little to the east of Cairo, where they would wait for

a day to organise such a large number of people for the proper conducting of each day's march. This recalled the statement that the first movement of the Children of Israel was to Succoth, on the 'edge of the wilderness.'[1] Now, 'Succoth' means tents or booths,—literally an encampment. It was this most striking similarity of the first day's doings that led me to consider the possibility of the Exodus having been a pilgrimage. As already mentioned, the Biblical story contains in it the essential idea of such an observance. In the Apocalypse, the great city in whose streets the dead shall lie is declared to be called spiritually Sodom and Egypt.[2] Egypt and Sodom, and Babylon, it might be added, were types of this nether world, the Exodus was the allegorical departure from this lower sphere and the powers that belonged to it, personified by Pharaoh and his hosts, and the going up to the Mount of God. Here, so far as it goes, we have a basis in which knowledge seems to justify the conclusion. Naturally the further question arises as to whether we can make out the allegory that may be contained in the other portions of the Exodus story. To accomplish this it would be necessary to have a familiar acquaintance with the ideas that were common to the people at the time the legend came into existence; otherwise any attempts at explanation could only be speculation of the vaguest kind. There is one consideration that may be worth pointing out: that is, that the events related in the Exodus are not more numerous nor more varied than those we read of in *The Pilgrim's Progress.* Another assumption may be made, and

[1] Ex. xiii. 20. [2] Rev. xi. 8.

one that need scarcely be doubted: had Bunyan lived two or three thousand years earlier, the geography of his tale would have been localised on ground familiar to every one, and his personages would have been well-known historical individuals,—features, it will be easily seen, which have assisted in causing legends in the past to be accepted as historical events.

There is, however, one part of the Exodus narrative, and a very important incident, the passage of the Red Sea, which can be interpreted in keeping with the proposed theory. In most of the old systems of religion there is either an ocean, or a river, some 'slough of despond,' that has to be passed over in some way between this world and the next. One form of this has become familiar to us lately, it is that of 'Crossing the Bar.' The dead Egyptian had to be ferried over the Nile, or some piece of water, to the western side, as a part of the funereal rites; the sledge, or hearse, on which the body was placed for removal on land, was also shaped like a boat, and with oars attached to it. The Greek ideas about Acheron and the Styx are well known; but it may be added here that there were rivers visible above ground that were called Acheron, from the belief that they led to the lower world. The Etruscans also had a river in their mythology called Acheruns. The Hindus and Buddhists speak frequently of this life as being the passage over 'the ocean of existence.' In the myth already told of the origin of the Ganges, the name 'Sagara' means the Ocean,[1] and this name was given to the river,—as described, it came from the

[1] Dowson's *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, Art. Sagara. The island of Saugar, at the mouth of the Hugli, is the same word.

celestial regions, and was supposed to return there, taking with it the ashes or remains of the dead which were thrown into it. There is some possibility that the deluge legends, with the boat floating on the water, which was the passage from a destroyed world to a new creation, was another form of the same idea. It is even probable that Jonah floating in the sea within the fish is only one of the many growths from the same original stem. All life came out of the sea; it was the great Abyss, or source of everything. It was the Tiamat of the Chaldeans, the T'hom of Genesis; this abyss, called by the Accadians Ab-zu, was with them the mother of Ea,[1] the Chaldean Jonah. This part of the subject will be followed up a little further on. There are two noted instances of passing at death in which water is not mentioned, but it is of course implied. One of these is the Kinvad bridge of the Zoroastrians, and the other is the bridge called al-Sirat of the Muhammadans. This last is as sharp as a razor, and no one could possibly pass over it unless Muhammad helped them, an assistance which is promised to every good and true follower of the prophet, —or it might be explained that no one can pass from this world to the next without the divine aid.

The passage of the Red Sea might be thus explained as only a variant of the same kind. The chosen children of God passed over in safety,[2] but their enemies perished. Should this view of the Exodus

[1] Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 374.

[2] The crossing of the dry bed of the Jordan is a similar story to that of the passage of the Red Sea; but they are two separate legends: this is implied by the evident fact that each tale involves a different Kiblah, or sacred centre. The same difference exists with the Haj pilgrims—Sinai is not now the Kiblah, but Mekka is the centre of prayer.

be able to hold its ground, it establishes a very celebrated case of a ceremony becoming a myth.

I am not unconscious of difficulties that stand in the way of this theory, but up to the present no other method that has been suggested appears to offer any solution of such problems.

As a point connected with ritual and myth, it may be noted that the Exodus took place at the vernal equinox, when the passover is said to have been instituted. The last two plagues were darkness and the death of the first-born; this ritual can still be traced in the Christian Church. The day before Good Friday a ceremony called 'The Tenebræ' is gone through in the churches,—this is understood to represent the darkness at the death of the First-born on Good Friday, and the church is draped in black or purple until Easter morn, when all is changed to light and brightness. The symbolism of this is well enough known: it refers to the very palpable aspects of nature at the Spring equinox; and rites connected with it can be traced far back into time. In the Exodus we find this symbolism, but it is recorded there as an awful and mysterious historical event.

This development of myth, legend, and history out of ceremonial, it will be found, has been much more extensive in its operations in former times than has been generally recognised. Some portions of the New Testament history are liable to the supposition that they originated in this way. It is purposed in these pages to show at least the great probability that the story of the resurrection has been derived from a ceremonial performance. In the meantime

there is one detail that may be dealt with. The Gospels describe the seeking for the body of Jesus after the death; Luke tells that after the resurrection the disciples worshipped Him, 'and returned to Jerusalem with great joy.'[1] We have a striking parallel to this in the story of Osiris. He was put to death, Isis went about seeking for his body, and Plutarch describes for us the ceremony known as the 'raising of Osiris,' in which the priests bear the sacred chest, containing a golden vessel. When water is poured into this, all present 'give a great shout for joy,' exclaiming that Osiris is found.[2] It is still more curious to find that this ceremony, or at least one very like it, is still continued in the Russian-Greek church. On Easter Sunday the priests perform a bit of acting at the altar, and pretend that they are seeking for the body of Christ; at last they declare 'Christ has risen,'—the priest kisses those around him, they come out of the Holy Place, saying Christ has risen,—the kiss is passed on to the congregation and communicated from one to the other, each repeating the same sentence as a joyful announcement,—they go out of the church uttering the words and kissing any one they may chance to meet.

This annual ceremony of seeking for and wailing for a dead god, and the rejoicing upon finding him again, is very old, and was at one time very widely spread. It can be traced in one form or another in most of the countries round the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, where the tale of Adonis and Aphrodite

[1] Luke xxiv. 52.

[2] *Isis* and *Osiris*, p. 102. Wilkinson calls this ceremony the 'finding of Osiris.'—*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 314.

repeats that of Isis and Osiris. In some instances this ceremonial rite was told as history; Melito in his *Apology*[1] relates it as having occurred in Cyprus, but instead of Adonis he writes 'Tamuzo'—evidently meaning Tammuz, who has been identified with Adonis. In the Descent of Istar—which is most probably a ceremony developed into a legend—the goddess goes down to the other world in search of her beloved. Sayce has traced the story to the Dumu-zi of the Accadians, and states that it carries us back to 'the first dawn of Chaldean Religious belief.'[2]

After stating that the Semites translated the name as 'Timmuz [or Dimmuz] of the Flood,' he adds the following suggestive words regarding this personification:—'The "son of the spirit of the deep" had become "the son of life," "the only son" of the god Ea. It is thus that a mythological tablet gives "the River-god," who is but Ea under another title . . .'[3] Now, if Ea is Oannes, and Oannes is Jonah, the character of the so-called Prophet will begin to appear.

Many more illustrations might no doubt be found to show the possibility of rites or ceremonies becoming myths or legends, and then being developed into the character of historical events. That is all that was proposed as the purpose of this chapter; and the next will deal with the conditions which led to this transfiguration.

[1] See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. Tammuz.
[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 233. [3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

DRAMATIC ACTION OF CEREMONIES

'A more satisfactory explanation of the Greek drama may be found in its connexion with the worship of the gods, and particularly that of Bacchus. The Greek worship contains a great number of dramatic elements. The gods were supposed to dwell in their temples, and participate in their festivals; and it was not considered presumptuous or unbecoming to represent them as human beings. Thus, Apollo's combat with the dragon, and his consequent flight and expiation, were represented by a noble youth of Delphi; in Samos the marriage of Zeus and Here was exhibited at the great festival of the goddess. The Eleusinian mysteries were [as an ancient writer expresses it [1]] "a mystical drama," in which the history of Demeter and Cora was acted, like a play, by priests and priestesses.'—*Hist. of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, by K. O. MÜLLER, p. 287.

THE object now before us is to show that many religious rites were dramatic; that they were more or less pieces of acting, and that this involved the creation of a story; the story in course of time became an accepted legend or myth, and that in some instances these legends or myths were recorded as actual history. The above quotation contains some very important statements; and not the least is that of Clement of Alexandria in relation to the Eleusinian mysteries. So little is known that is certain about what took place in these and the other celebrations of a similar kind, that it is particularly valuable to have Clement's testimony regarding their dramatic

[1] 'Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 12, Potter.'

character, and that the personages were represented by priests and priestesses. There must in the very nature of ceremonies be a tendency to acting, so that the principle here insisted upon need not be looked upon as novel. Many illustrations of this might be brought forward. Processions were common to most systems of religion, and these, although not exactly dramas, were all partly theatrical performances. Plutarch's account of the origin of the Oschophoria may be cited as evidence of this.

But waiving this point as of little moment, we have the well-known origin of the Greek Drama, upon which all writers are agreed. It began with the worship of Dionysus. In the time of Æschylus and Sophocles, about the fifth century B.C., the Greek drama had been developed out of its religious character; but in the primitive period its purpose was to represent the supposed life and doings of the God. The writer[1] of the article on Greek Tragedy, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, says,—'This worship, we may observe, was of a twofold character, corresponding to the different conceptions which were anciently entertained of Dionysus as the changeable God of flourishing, decaying, or renovated nature, and the various fortunes to which in that character he was considered to be subject at the different seasons of the year. . . . His mournful or joyous fortunes [*πάθη*], his mystical death, symbolizing the death of all vegetation in winter, and his birth indicating the renovation of all nature in spring, and his struggles in passing from one state to another.'[2]

[1] Leonhard Schmitz, Ph.D.

[2] P. 978, col. 2.

If this author is correct, then the early worship of Dionysus was a piece of acting, in which death and rebirth were represented. This testimony regarding the primitive Greek drama is particularly valuable, as it contains the main principle by which it is proposed here to explain the story of Jonah. It will be shown in these pages that the passing through a simulated condition of death to a new life has been either a dramatic performance or a ceremonial rite from a very remote period of human history; and also that such rites are found even in our own times among races who are still on the first steps of civilisation. The number of instances that can be brought forward of such performances, will add much to the probability that the Book of Jonah is only one of these legends which has been transmuted into a historical event.

In the Eleusinian mysteries we know so far at least that the story of Demeter and her daughter Cora, or Persephone, was the legend connected with them. The writer last quoted above says of Persephone that the story according to which she 'spent one part of the year in the lower world, and another with the gods above, made her, even with the ancients, the symbol of vegetation which shoots forth in spring, and the power of which withdraws into the earth at other seasons of the year.' Following this, the same writer says: 'In the mysteries of Eleusis, the return of Cora from the lower world was regarded as the symbol of immortality, and hence she was frequently represented on sarcophagi. In the mystical theories of the Orphics, and what are called the Platonists, Cora is described as the all-pervading goddess of

nature, who both produces and destroys everything.'[1] According to Greek ideas Persephone was the personification of vegetable life, and during the six months of winter that life did not act, and was assumed to be dead; at that period the goddess was said to be in Hades, or with Hades, the god of the nether world. In the spring again, when all nature revived, she was supposed to appear among the gods of the upper regions. The myth, it will be seen, is based on natural phenomena, but for the mysteries it is arranged so as to present the passage through death to life. Whatever else the mysteries may have had in them is of little moment—here is enough for our purpose,—the rites at Eleusis were initiatory, and the initiatory legend contained the conception of death, and a rebirth in it. This was the 'mystical drama' that was acted.

It may be noted in passing, that the myth of Persephone points to the vernal equinox as the period when she returned from Hades. It is the period not only when the flowers and everything good and beautiful comes on earth, but it is also the date when the days lengthen, and it was supposed that then the light triumphed over the darkness.

The *Golden Ass* of Apuleius has been often referred to in connection with initiatory rites; but there is considerable doubt about the real character of the story. One difficulty appears to be that of realising what may have belonged to the initiatory practices of the period, and what is mere allegory originating only in the mind of the author. If the change from

[1] Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology*, Art. Persephone, vol. iii. p. 204, col. 2.

an ass to the human form had been a common ceremony at the period when Apuleius wrote, which was as late as the second century A.D., some notice of it ought to be found in the works of other writers of the time. But if there is any reality in the description, the ceremony must have been a piece of acting. The persons that took part in it were all dressed up to represent various characters; and if the transmutation from the animal form took place, it could have been accomplished only in one way,—that is by the novitiate being covered with the ass's skin, with the head, tail, and other parts attached, which he would throw off when he received the crown of roses. In the previous vision, where he is supposed to be instructed in his part, he is told, when he receives the roses, to 'divest' himself 'of the hide of that abominable beast.' We may assume here, and that is all that is desired by the reference to this curious history, that Apuleius considered it to be quite in keeping with the ideas of his readers to present the ceremony as dramatic in form.

Another religious rite, which is still practised in our own day, as a dramatic performance, is that of the Mohurram of the Shia Muhammadans. The Persians are Shias, and every year this celebration takes place in almost every town; and it is also performed in most of the Muhammadan towns in India. In Persia there are regular erections, known as Imambarrahs, which I suppose might be called theatres, for these dramatic exhibitions. The subject of the piece is the martyrdom of Hussein and Hassan, the sons of Ali. Their death is represented, and in India the performers carry richly adorned *Tabuts*, or

biers, supposed to be the coffins of the martyrs. At Bombay the ceremony ends by throwing the *Tabuts* into the sea; but at inland places they are buried. This ceremony is so unlike anything in Muhammad's teaching, it might even be affirmed that it is entirely antagonistic to the spirit of Islamism—it becomes difficult to account for its origin; and up to the present I have not chanced to come upon any explanation as to the source from which the Shias derived it. The whole performance has the appearance of being a descendant from some ceremony such as the weeping for Adonis or Tammuz, or it might be from the wailing for the death of Dionysus.

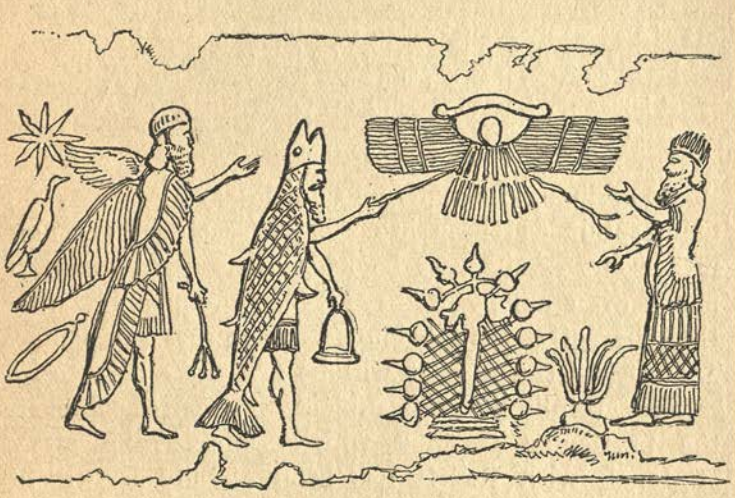
It may be as well to add another instance of a religious ceremony in dramatic form to show that they are not exceptional in the more undeveloped conditions of civilisation. This will make good the point that such performances might be found in any of the stages society has passed through from the earliest down to the present time. Catlin published *An Account of an Annual Religious Ceremony practised by the Mandan Tribe of North American Indians.* The ceremony must have come down from a time when the tribe was almost exclusively depending for their supply of food on the buffalo, and had not reached the agricultural condition of existence. From this circumstance the Mandan ceremony is in one respect different in character from the rites of Ceres and Proserpina, and yet they bore one marked resemblance, both had a reference to the food supply: the one had to do with the cultivation of corn, and the other with the propagation of the buffalo. The details are not all fitted for giving here, but they can

be studied in Catlin's book. The ceremony lasted for some days, and the art of the period was devoted to painting and transforming the men who were to take part in the performance. The principal figures were eight men who appeared as buffaloes, covered with the hide of that animal; the head and tail was also part of the costume. There were other animals represented—bears, antelopes, rattlesnakes, beavers, bald eagles, and vultures: two figures represented the 'firmament,' and other two were called 'ghosts.' The pantomime lasted for about four days, and included a large amount of dancing and mimicry; but the essential part of the performance, which symbolised the supply of buffalo meat, was essentially phallic, and that too of a very primitive kind. The most curious point of similarity in this Indian drama to that of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and one that is intimately connected with the theory that is to be wrought out in these pages, is found in its being also an initiatory rite. All the young men of the tribe who were 'candidates for the gradation of warriors,' which would be practically their entrance into the conditions of manhood, went through a series of trials which appear to have been intended as tests of their endurance and courage.

The wearing of the skins of animals at these performances should be noted here, as it will be dealt with further on. The Lamas of Tibet have dramatic exhibitions which are explained by them to have a symbolic meaning; and the figures are dressed up in a variety of costumes, some of them being disguised as animals. As there was nothing of the kind in Indian Buddhism, these masquerades are in all probability a

survival of the Bonpa religion which existed in Tibet before Buddhism arrived; this leads to the conclusion that we have here again data derived from an old primitive system.

Initiation has been touched upon here in one or two instances as part of the dramatic rites, but the subject will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.



PRIEST WITH PISCINE VESTMENT

Described by Layard as 'Dagon, or the Fish-God,' from a cylinder in Layard's possession.—*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 343.

The all-seeing eye here takes the place of the human winged figure.

CHAPTER IV

INITIATORY RITES

'That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die.'—1 Cor. xv. 36.

'Amongst many savage tribes, especially such as are known to practise totemism, it is customary for lads at puberty to undergo certain initiatory rites, of which one of the commonest is a pretence of killing the lad and bringing him to life again.'—*The Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 342.

A GOOD many references to initiatory rites may be found; but as these are mostly scattered through rather out of the way books, it may be doubted if many even among well-read men are familiar with the character that belonged to these ceremonies. That being the case, it will be necessary here to go rather carefully into this subject, in order to establish the particular features which connect the story of Jonah with it. It has been already shown in these pages how ceremonies have become changed into historical events, and that this resulted from the ceremonies having a dramatic action in them;—this dramatic action implied a story that was represented, and this story in the course of time came to be told as an event that took place at a particular date, as well as in some defined locality. This tendency, particularly in the records of early times, is quite sufficient to account for the Jonah legend—on the

supposition that it had been a ceremonial form—being transmuted into an event that had occurred. This only clears the way for what is to follow. It shows that the historical reputation may possibly be only an assumption. The strong point in the case has now to be dealt with, when it will be shown that there are statements in the two first chapters of the book of Jonah which agree in a very remarkable manner with ideas that are found in many initiatory rites that have been practised in various parts of the world. These rites can now be traced back to a very remote date; and they can be shown to exist among tribes that are as yet in a very primitive state of civilisation, which may imply that where we find them in more advanced stages of culture, they may have originated in earlier conditions; and they can be followed down to ceremonials that are practised in the present day. This part of the subject, it may be mentioned in passing, has an interest in itself, independent of any bearing it may possess in relation to the book of Jonah, from the light it throws on the progress and development of human thought, more particularly with reference to religion and mythology.

From what we now know of initiatory rites, it may be affirmed as a general rule that they were regenerative in their symbolism. This symbolism was expressed in a variety of forms; a common one being that of a simulated death and a return to life, which was considered in the light of a rebirth. This was gone through in a number of instances by placing the novitiate in a grave or coffin, out of which he was raised to the new life. Another form of the ceremony

was by a pretended descent into the underworld, which might be Hades, Hell, Sheol, or Amentia, and a return from that region. In the Brahmanical initiatory rite it will be seen, when it is described, that the novitiate becomes an embryo, in order to be born again. As the initiated person is supposed by such a rebirth to become a new man, he often receives a new name. As he receives a new life or soul, he becomes a changed man; and as it is supposed that he acquires a new body, the diseases of the old are assumed to have been removed,—such rites had thus a curative power attributed to them. They purified both soul and body; at least we know that powers of this kind were widely believed in regarding them. The idea of maternity was implied as belonging to the organised body that had the power of conferring this rebirth; and those who were thus initiated into the same organisation were considered to be brothers. These are some of the leading features of initiatory rites; and there are numerous societies existing at the present time in which one or more of these features are to be found, and the guess may be hazarded, that in them we have survivals of the more elaborate systems of antiquity. As examples of these it may be mentioned that our Ecclesiastical Establishment is well known by the familiar name of 'Mother Church,' and bishops and clergymen are 'brothers.' It is the same in the Roman Catholic Church, where the Head of the Church is the 'Holy Father,' and all priests and monks are brothers; nuns are sisters.[1] Freemasons speak of their 'Mother Lodge,' and the

[1] This recalls what I read in a book by a French ecclesiastic, that it is 'l'Église qui enfante les Chrétiens.'

word 'brother' is strictly adhered to as a term among them in relation to each other.

Initiatory rites as they are now known to exist among primitive tribes are certainly difficult to account for. Similar customs are found in Australia, Africa, America, and Melanesia. The resemblance in the customs is so great, it is hard to account for them except by some theory of migration, and yet any theory of that kind is difficult to accept. The supposition of local origin in each case is, perhaps, the most probable explanation. The comparative mythologist and the folklorist are met at every step with similarities of this kind, and up to the present no satisfactory solution of the problem has been reached. It so chances here, luckily, that our subject may be followed as this problem stands, for all that is required is to show that initiatory customs, which are similar in some of their principal details, have existed from almost the earliest state of civilisation. Neither is it essential that we should determine the ideas on which these customs were based. Still it might be useful to understand the motives from which they originated, if that could be done. The difficulties in the way of doing this are great: it so often chances that those who practise a rite as a rule know nothing about how it began. The rite or custom continues, but the explanation of it, as has already been shown, changes; and this is all the more likely to have occurred with a primitive rite or custom such as we are now dealing with. It may have begun at first in some very simple practice, and afterwards developed as time went on.

Tylor indicates one origin in the following: 'The New Zealanders hold that the Sun descends at night

into his cavern, bathes in the Wai Ora Tane, the Water of Life, and returns at dawn from the underworld; hence we may interpret the thought that if man could likewise descend into Hades and return, his race would be immortal.'[1] Tylor is no doubt right in this, for a solar signification can be traced in most initiatory rites, and more particularly in those of a later period; but it is of interest to find that the New Zealanders had reached this idea of the Sun descending to the underworld and acquiring ideas of something akin to immortality.

Mr. J. G. Frazer, of *Golden Bough* repute, suggests a totemistic explanation which appears to be in perfect keeping with the ideas of races in the stage of totemism, and on that account is more likely to have supplied the primitive myth of initiation. This author shows that man at one period believed his soul could be separated from his body, or that he could have even more than one soul; and he supposes that it might be the totem that extracted the young man's soul, and after a time replaced it by a new one; possibly the totem gave him his own soul; and if the totem was a bear, the youth as a man became a bear, a wolf, an eagle, or whatever the totem chanced to have been, such as was common with the American Indians; and the initiatory ceremony consisted in what was supposed to be the giving the novice a new soul. Where so much is speculative, a lucky guess is all that one can hope to make, and with that hope it may be suggested, as an addition to the above, that as many of these rites took place at the age of puberty, and were in fact the initiation

[1] *Primitive Culture*, by Ed. B. Tylor, vol. i. p. 336.

into manhood and marriage, including citizenship, the youth required a new soul or life: the life of the boy or child was finished; and as a man he began a fresh existence, and on that account had to receive a new soul.

These explanations may or may not be correct; or they may be partly correct and, perhaps, with further knowledge, they may require to be altered or trimmed. Be that as it may, the main point for our present purpose is the fact that tribes in an early condition of civilisation had rites among them which symbolised a death and a rebirth. The object to be gained in establishing this is, that it might be supposed no such ceremonies could have come into existence at the date —whenever that may have been—when the Jonah legend was first known. Another intention that is here aimed at will be that, by showing how common these ceremonies were, there will be less incredulity regarding the theory that the Book of Jonah is only a record of a similar one.

Mr. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, gives a number of these rites, and I shall at first take the liberty of drawing upon his collection.

'Examples of this supposed death and resurrection at initiation are the following. Among some of the Australian tribes of New South Wales, when lads are initiated, it is thought that a being called Thuremlin takes each lad to a distance, kills him, and sometimes cuts him up, after which he restores him to life and knocks out a tooth.[1] In one part of Queensland the

[1] A. L. P. Cameron, *Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales, Journ. Anthrop. Instit.*, xiv. p. 358. This is the authority quoted by Mr. Frazer, and these shall in each case be added here as footnotes.

humming sound of the Bullroarer, which is swung at the initiatory rites, is said to be the noise made by the wizards in swallowing the boys and bringing them up again as young men. "The Ualaroi of the Upper Darling River say that the boy meets a ghost which kills him, and brings him to life again as a man."[1] This resurrection appears to be represented at the initiatory rites by the following ceremony. An old man, disguised with string bark fibre, lies down in a grave, and is lightly covered up with sticks and earth, and as far as possible the natural appearance of the ground is restored, the excavated earth being carried away. The buried man holds a small bush in his hand; it appears to be growing in the soil, and other bushes are stuck in the soil to heighten the effect. The novices are then brought to the edge of the grave, and a song is sung, in which the only words used are the "class-name" of the buried man and the word for stringy bark fibre. Gradually, as the song continues, the bush held by the buried man begins to quiver, and then to move more and more, and finally the man himself starts up from the grave.[2] Similarly, Fijian lads at initiation were shown a row of apparently dead men, covered with blood, their bodies seemingly cut open, and their entrails protruding. But at a yell from the priest the pretended dead men sprang to their feet, and ran to the river to cleanse themselves from the blood and entrails of pigs with which they had been besmeared.'[3]

[1] A. W. Howitt, *On Australian Medicine Men*, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xvi. p. 47 *sq.*

[2] A. W. Howitt, *On Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation*, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xiii. pp. 453 *sq.*

[3] L. Fison, *The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji*, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xiv. p. 22, quoted in *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 343-4.

Attention may be directed in the above passage to the process of 'swallowing,' and that they are swallowed as 'boys,' and brought up again as 'young men.' It should also be remembered that the natives of Australia are considered to be very low down in the scale of civilisation, and yet somehow they have such ideas among them.

Here follows an account of rites practised in the valley of the Congo, which are known by the name 'Ndembo.' 'In the practice of Ndembo the initiating doctors get some one to fall down in a pretended fit, and in that state he is carried away to an enclosed place outside the town. This is called "dying Ndembo." Others follow suit, generally boys and girls, but often young men and women. . . . They are supposed to have died; but the parents and friends supply them with food, and after a period varying, according to custom, from three months to three years, it is arranged that the doctor shall bring them to life again. . . . When the doctor's fee has been paid, and money [goods] saved for a feast, the *Ndembo* people are brought to life. At first they pretend to know no one and nothing; they do not even know how to masticate food, and friends have to perform that office for them. They want everything nice that any one uninitiated may have, and beat them if it is not granted, or even strangle and kill people. They do not get into trouble for this, because it is thought that they do not know better. Sometimes they carry on the pretence of talking gibberish, and behaving as if they had returned from the spirit world. After this they are known by another name, peculiar to those who have "died

Ndembo." . . . We hear of the custom far along on the upper river, as well as in the cataract region.'[1]

The following rites are from an account given to Bastian by an interpreter. 'In the land of Ambamba every one must die once, and when the fetish priest shakes his calabash against a village, all the men and lads whose hour is come fall into a state of lifeless torpidity, from which they generally awake after three days. But if the fetish loves a man, he carries him away into the bush and buries him in the fetish house, often for many years. When he comes to life again, he begins to eat and drink as before, but his understanding is gone, and the fetish men teach him and direct him in every motion like the smallest child. At first this can only be done with a stick, but gradually his senses return, so that it is possible to talk with him, and when his education is complete, the priest brings him back to his parents. They would seldom recognise their son but for the express assurances of the fetish priest, who, moreover, recalls previous events to their memory. He who has not gone through the ceremony of the new birth in Ambamba is universally looked down upon, and is not admitted to the dances.'[2] To this is added another quotation from the same author: when the novice is plunged in the magic sleep or death-like trance, he 'beholds a bird, or other object, with which his existence is thenceforward sympathetically bound up,

[1] W. H. Bentley, *Life on the Congo* (London, 1887), p. 78 *sq.* *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 345.

[2] A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, pp. 82 *sq.*, 86. *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 346.

just as the life of the young Indian is bound up with the animal which he sees in his dreams at puberty.'[1] According to Mr. Frazer, this means that he receives a new life or soul from some animal connected with the initiatory rite—which is, according to primitive ideas, highly probable; but the fact should be noted here and elsewhere as it occurs in other instances, as it will be shown that traces of it exist, not in the Book of Jonah, but in the records we possess of Oannes.

These African rites are so very interesting that I quote another, as it tends to show that the above is not altogether exceptional. The following is from an old author, and the locality is in Quoja, on the west coast, north of the Congo. 'They have another ceremony, which they call Belli-Paaro, but it is not for everybody. For it is an incorporation in the assembly of spirits, and confers the right of entering their groves, that is to say, of going and eating the offerings which the simple folk bring thither. The initiation or admission to the Belli-Paaro is celebrated every twenty or twenty-five years. The initiated recount marvels of the ceremony, saying that they are roasted, that they entirely change their habits and life, and that they receive a spirit quite different from that of other people and quite new lights. The badge of membership consists in some lines traced on the neck between the shoulders; the lines seem to be pricked with a needle. Those who have this mark pass for persons of spirit, and when they have attained a certain age they are allowed a voice in all public

[1] Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, ii. 183. *Golden Bough*, p. 346.

assemblies; whereas the uninitiated are regarded as profane, impure, and ignorant persons, who dare not express an opinion on any subject of importance. When the time for the ceremony has come, it is celebrated as follows. By order of the king a place is appointed in the forest, whither they bring the youths who have not been marked, not without much crying and weeping; for it is impressed upon the youths that in order to undergo this change it is necessary to suffer death. So they dispose of their property, as if it were all over with them. There are always some of the initiated beside the novices to instruct them. They teach them to dance a certain dance called *killing*, and to sing verses in praise of Belli. Above all, they are very careful not to let them die of hunger, because if they did so, it is much to be feared that the spiritual resurrection would profit them nothing. This manner of life lasts five or six years, and is comfortable enough, for there is a village in the forest, and they amuse themselves with hunting and fishing. Other lads are brought thither from time to time, so that the last comers have not long to stay. No woman or uninitiated person is suffered to pass within four or five leagues of the sacred wood. When their instruction is completed, they are taken from the wood and shut up in small huts made for the purpose. There they begin once more to hold communion with mankind, and to talk with women who bring them food. It is amusing to see their affected simplicity. They pretend to know no one, and to be ignorant of all the customs of the country, such as the customs of washing themselves, rubbing themselves with oil, etc. When they enter these huts,

their bodies are all covered with the feathers of birds, and they wear caps of bark which hang down before their faces. But after a time they are dressed in clothes and taken to a great open place, where all the people of the neighbourhood are assembled. Here the novices give the first proof of their capacity, by dancing a dance which is called the dance of Belli. After the dance is over, the novices are taken to the houses of their parents by their instructors.'[1]

That is Africa. We now jump to America, where rites of a very similar kind are found to exist. 'Among the Indians of Virginia, an initiatory ceremony called *Huskanaw* took place every sixteen or twenty years, or oftener, as the young men happened to grow up. The youths were kept in solitary confinement in the woods for several months, receiving no food but an infusion of some intoxicating roots, so they went raving mad, and continued in this state eighteen or twenty days. Upon this occasion it is pretended that these poor creatures drink so much of the water of Lethe that they perfectly lose the remembrance of all former things, even of their parents, their treasure, and their language. When the doctors find that they have drunk sufficiently of the Wysoccan [so they call this mad potion], they gradually restore them to their senses again by lessening the intoxication of their diet; but before they are perfectly well they bring them back into their towns, while they are still wild and crazy through the violence of the medicine. After this they are very fearful of discovering anything of their former remembrance; for if such a thing should

[1] Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 268 *sq.* 'Dapper's account has been abbreviated in the text.'—*Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 347-8.

happen to any of them, they must immediately be *Huskanaw'd* again; and the second time the usage is so severe that seldom any one escapes with life. Thus they must pretend to have forgot the very use of their tongues, so as not to be able to speak, nor understand anything that is spoken, till they learn it again. Now, whether this be real or counterfeit, I don't know; but certain it is that they will not for some time take notice of any body nor any thing with which they are acquainted, being still under the guard of their keepers, who constantly wait upon them everywhere till they have learnt all things perfectly over again. Thus they unlive their former lives, and commence men by forgetting that they ever have been boys.'[1]

Here again we have the boy ceasing to be a boy, and becoming a man as a perfectly new existence.

Mr. Frazer gives further examples of these rites from the far West. 'Among some of the Indian tribes of North America there are certain religious associations which are only open to candidates who have gone through a pretence of being killed and brought to life again. Captain Carver witnessed the admission of a candidate to an association called "the Friendly Society of the Spirit," among the Naudowessies. The candidate knelt before the chief, who told him that "he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life. . . . As he spoke this, he appeared to be greatly agitated, till at

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 177 *sq.* *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 349.

last his emotions became so violent that his countenance was distorted and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and colour like a small bean at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot." For a time the man lay like dead, but under a shower of blows he showed signs of consciousness, and finally, discharging from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was the chief had thrown at him, he came to life.[1] In other tribes the instrument by which the candidate is apparently slain is the medicine-bag. The bag is made of the skin of an animal (such as the otter, wild cat, serpent, bear, racoon, wolf, owl, weasel), of which it roughly preserves the shape. Each member of the society has one of these bags, in which he keeps the odds and ends that make up his "medicine" or charms. "They believe that from the miscellaneous contents in the belly of the skin bag or animal there issues a spirit or breath, which has the power, not only to knock down and kill a man, but also to set him up and restore him to life." The mode of killing a man with one of these medicine-bags is to thrust it at him; he falls like dead, but a second thrust of the bag restores him to life.'[2]

The following has a special interest, as it shows that the initiated person becomes a particular animal: 'A ceremony witnessed by Jewitt during his captivity among the Indians of Nootka Sound doubtless belongs to this class of customs. The Indian king or

[1] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 271-275. *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 350,

[2] Carver, *op. cit.* p. 277 *sq.* Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iii. 287; v. 430 *sqq.* Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, i. 64-70. *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 350-1.

chief "discharged a pistol close to his son's ear, who immediately fell down as if killed, upon which all the women of the house set up a most lamentable cry, tearing handfuls of hair from their heads, and exclaiming that the prince was dead; at the same time a great number of the inhabitants rushed into the house armed with their daggers, muskets, etc., inquiring the cause of their outcry. These were immediately followed by two others dressed in wolf skins, with masks over their faces representing the head of that animal. The latter came in on their hands and feet in the manner of a beast, and taking up the prince, carried him off upon their backs, retiring in the same manner as they entered."[1] In another place Jewitt mentions that the young prince—a lad of about eleven years of age—wore a mask in imitation of a wolf's head.[2] Now as the Indians of America are divided into totem clans, of which the Wolf clan is one of the principal, and as the members of each clan are in the habit of wearing some portion of the totem animal about their person, it is probable that the prince belonged to the Wolf clan, and that the ceremony described by Jewitt represented the killing of the lad in order that he might be born anew as a wolf, much in the same way that the Basque hunter supposed himself to have been killed, and to have come to life again as a bear. The Toukaway Indians of Texas, one of whose totems is the wolf, have a ceremony in which men, dressed in wolf-skins, run about on all fours, howling and mimicking wolves. At last they scratch up a living tribesman, who has

[1] *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* (Middletown, 1820), p. 119. *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 351.

[2] *Ibid.*

been buried on purpose, and putting a bow and arrow in his hands, bid him do as the wolves do—rob, kill, and murder.[1] The ceremony probably forms part of an initiatory rite like the resurrection from the grave of the old man in the Australian rites.'[2]

'Secret associations, both of men and women, exist in great numbers among the Negroes. Among the North American Indians the three secret societies Jossakied, Meda, and Wabeno, seem, like the Greek mysteries, to transmit a certain doctrine of immortality; their members, at any rate, are regarded as born again. See Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iii. p. 215, *sqq.* The Areoi of Tahiti are of a peculiar constitution—a body of distinguished men who preserve and propagate the old traditions: they are regarded already as gods upon earth, and are supposed to be elevated above all the laws of morality. See Gerland in Waitz, *pp. cit.*, vi. pp. 363-369.' —*Outlines of the History of Religion*, by C. P. Tiele, p. 11.

The next instance is one in which the novitiate is supposed to have been swallowed and then disgorged—a very Jonah-like process. Marsaba, or the devil in this case, may be looked upon as only a personification of the lower world. 'The people of Rook, an island east of New Guinea, hold festivals at which one or

[1] Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, v. 683. Mr. Frazer adds in a footnote:—'In a letter dated 16th Dec. 1887, Mr. A. S. Gatschet, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, writes to me: "Among the Toukawe whom in 1884 I found at Fort Griffin [?], Texas, I noticed that they never kill the big or grey wolf, *hatchukunän*, which has a mythological signification, 'holding the earth' [*hatch*]. He forms one of their totem clans, and they have had a dance in his honor, danced by the males only, who carried sticks."'—*Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 352.

[2] *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 352.

two disguised men, their heads covered with wooden masks, go dancing through the village, followed by all the other men. They demand that the circumcised boys who have not yet been swallowed by Marsaba (the devil) shall be given up to them. The boys, trembling and shrieking, are delivered to them, and must creep between the legs of the disguised men. Then the procession moves through the village again, and announces that Marsaba has eaten up the boys, and will not disgorge them till he receives a present of pigs, taro, etc. So all the villagers, according to their means, contribute provisions, which are then consumed in the name of Marsaba. In New Britain all males are members of an association called Duk-duk. The boys are admitted to it very young, but are not fully initiated till their fourteenth year, when they receive from the Tubuvan a terrible blow with a cane, which is supposed to kill them. The Tubuvan and the Duk-duk are two disguised men who represent cassowaries. They dance with a short hopping step in imitation of the cassowary. Each of them wears a huge hat like an extinguisher, woven of grass or palm-fibres: it is six feet high, and descends to the wearer's shoulders, completely concealing his head and face. From the neck to the knees the man's body is hidden by a crinoline made of the leaves of a certain tree fastened on hoops, one above the other. The Tubuvan is regarded as a female, the Duk-duk as a male. No woman may see these disguised men. The institution of the Duk-duk is common to the neighbouring islands of New Ireland and the Duke of York.'[1]

[1] *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 352-3.

The acting and the impersonation of animals should be noticed in the above. The next quotation would seem to imply some kind of physiological symbolism of the regenerative power.

'Amongst the Galela and Tobelorese of Halmahera, an island to the west of New Guinea, boys go through a form of initiation, part of which seems to consist in a pretence of begetting them anew. When a number of boys have reached the proper age, their parents agree to celebrate the ceremony at their common expense, and they invite others to be present at it. A shed is erected, and two long tables are placed in it, with benches to match, one for the men and one for the women. When all the preparations have been made for a feast, a great many skins of the rayfish, and some pieces of a wood which imparts a red colour to water, are taken to the shed. A priest or elder causes a vessel to be placed in sight of all the people, and then begins, with significant gestures, to rub a piece of the wood with the ray-skin. The powder so produced is put in the vessel, and at the same time the name of one of the boys is called out. The same proceeding is repeated for each boy. Then the vessels are filled with water, after which the feast begins. At the third cock-crow the priest smears the faces and bodies of the boys with the red water, which represents the blood shed at the perforation of the *hymen*. Towards daybreak the boys are taken to the wood, and must hide behind the largest trees. The men, armed with sword and shield, accompany them, dancing and singing. The priest knocks thrice on each of the trees behind which a boy is hiding. All day the boys stay in the wood, exposing them-

selves to the heat of the sun as much as possible. In the evening they bathe and return to the shed, where the women supply them with food.'[1]

The following ceremony has something in it again of the swallowing operation being imitated. 'In the west of Ceram boys at puberty are admitted to the Kakian association. Modern writers have commonly regarded this association as primarily a political league instituted to resist foreign domination. In reality its objects are purely religious and social, though it is possible that the priests may have occasionally used their powerful influence for political ends. The society is in fact merely one of those widely diffused primitive institutions, of which a chief object is the initiation of young men. In recent years the true nature of the association has been duly recognised by the distinguished Dutch ethnologist, J. G. F. Riedel. The Kakian house is an oblong wooden shed, situated under the darkest trees in the depth of the forest, and is built to admit so little light that it is impossible to see what goes on in it. Every village has such a house. Thither the boys who are to be initiated are conducted blindfolded, followed by their parents and relations. Each boy is led by the hand by two men, who act as his sponsors or guardians, looking after him during the period of initiation. When all are assembled before the shed, the high priest calls aloud upon the devils. Immediately a hideous uproar is heard to proceed from the shed. It is made by men with bamboo trumpets, who have been secretly introduced into the building by a back

[1] *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 353-4. This is derived from 'J. G. F. Riedel, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, xvii. (1885) p. 81 *sq.*'

door; but the women and children think it is made by the devils, and are much terrified. Then the priests enter the shed, followed by the boys, one at a time. As soon as each boy has disappeared within the precincts, a dull chopping sound is heard, a fearful cry rings out, and a sword or spear, dripping with blood, is thrust through the roof of the shed. This is a token that the boy's head has been cut off, and that the devil has carried him away to the other world, there to regenerate and transform him. So at sight of the bloody sword the mothers weep and wail, crying that the devil has murdered their children.' It should be noted here that the part performed by the women outside the shed is a piece of acting, quite as much as the performance within. What follows should be particularly borne in mind. 'In some places, it would seem, the boys are pushed through an opening made in the shape of a crocodile's jaws or a cassowary's beak, and it is then said that the devil has swallowed them. The boys remain in the shed for five or nine days. Sitting in the dark, they hear the blast of the bamboo trumpets, and from time to time the clash of swords. Every day they bathe, and their faces and bodies are smeared with a yellow dye, to give them the appearance of having been swallowed by the devil. During his stay in the Kakian house each boy has one or two crosses tattooed with thorns on his breast or arm. When they are not sleeping, the lads must sit in a crouching posture without moving a muscle. As they sit in a row cross-legged, with their hands stretched out, the chief takes his trumpet, and placing the mouth of it on the hands of each lad, speaks through it in strange tones,

imitating the voice of the spirits. He warns the lads, under the pain of death, to observe the rules of the Kakian society, and never to reveal what has passed in the Kakian house. The novices are also told by the priests to behave well to their blood relations, and are taught the traditions and secrets of the tribe. Meantime the mothers and sisters of the lads have gone home to weep and mourn. But in a day or two the men who acted as guardians or sponsors to the novices return to the village with the glad tidings that the devil, at the intercession of the priests, has restored the lads to life. The men who bring this news come in a fainting state and daubed with mud, like messengers freshly arrived from the nether world. Before leaving the Kakian house, each lad receives from the priest a stick adorned at both ends with cock's or cassowary's feathers. The sticks are supposed to have been given to the lads by the devil at the time when he restored them to life, and they serve as a token that the lads have been in the spirit-land. When they return to their homes they totter in their walk, and enter the house backward, as if they had forgotten how to walk properly; or they enter the house by the back door. If a plate of food is given to them, they hold it upside down. They remain dumb, indicating their wants by signs only. All this is to show that they are still under the influence of the spirits. Their sponsors have to teach them all the common acts of life, as if they were new-born children. Further, upon leaving the Kakian house the boys are strictly forbidden to eat of certain fruits until the next celebration of the rites has taken place. And for twenty or thirty days their hair may

not be combed by their mothers or sisters. At the end of that time the high priest takes them to a lonely place in the forest, and cuts off a lock of hair from the crown of each of their heads. After these initiatory rites the lads are deemed men, and may marry; it would be a scandal if they married before.'[1]

The Rev. R. H. Codrington in his work *The Melanesians*, which is full of most valuable information regarding the natives of the Pacific Isles, has a long account of the initiatory rites which seem to be common to almost all the islands. Curiously enough, he makes no mention of any symbolism of the new birth in them. Probably he was not aware of this feature, and it may have been that owing to this he failed to notice its existence. He speaks of the initiated as forming a society or association; but he mentions in some cases that the initiated became, in virtue of the rite, 'young men'; and the persons who perform the ceremony go by such names as *Tindalo* and *Tamate*, words having the meaning of 'ghost,' implying that they come from the other world; and a number of drawings are given in the book, showing the peculiar head-gear and dress of leaves or grass that they wear.

It must be confessed that it is difficult to understand how races in the stage of civilisation such as those cited by Frazer could have evolved ceremonies which implied in them the notion of a death and a rebirth. It would naturally be supposed that the ideas connected with such a complex subject would not only require some depth of thought, but, at the same time, a long course of mental abstraction to

[1] *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. pp. 354-7.

elaborate them. It is hard to conceive that men who were scarcely beyond the period of progress when they would worship a log, or an ugly figure cut from one, could possibly reach a conception that appears to imply even the slightest approach to philosophic speculation. All this knowledge is new to us, and it yet requires to be thought out, and further inquiries made regarding it.

There is still more evidence that can be brought forward to prove the great antiquity of a ritual with a rebirth symbolism in it. Luckily we have in *The Sacred Books of the East* a very minute account of the Brahmanical initiation as it was practised about the sixth to the seventh century B.C., and most probably as it was performed for many centuries before that date. We have also evidence that the rite in some form existed much further back, at least as early as the separation of the Vedic branch of the Aryan people from the other branch, that developed the Zoroastrian system. Much of this is also fresh knowledge, and only dates from the publication of the Sacred Books, so time has not yet sufficiently elapsed to allow of a full consideration of all its bearings, but enough is known to indicate its great importance in reference to these early rites of initiation. However valuable it might be to have their origin and development cleared up, that knowledge is not necessary for our present purpose; it is only required here to show that they are as old, if not older, than the Jonah legend can possibly be by any theory as to its date. We have seen that the rebirth symbolism, in one form or another, belonged to these ceremonies among the primitive tribes, and it

is important to show that this very distinctive feature was still retained at a later period among more civilised races. The Brahmanical initiation has also its value in another aspect of the subject, as it brings us geographically nearer to the region where it may be guessed that the Jonah legend came into existence, thus suggesting the possibility of connection between them.

A well-known title of the Brahmans is that of *Dvi-ja*, or 'Twice Born,' and the outward symbol of it is the triple cord which each wears over his left shoulder. It has a number of names—'Yajnopavita' is one, but 'Juneoo' is perhaps a more common term. A Brahman boy is invested with the Brahmanical cord when he is about eight years of age, that is, when he begins the study of the Vedas. That is the rule at the present day, for the rite has been continued up till now from the far past—from how far back, as will be shown, it is difficult to say. The account of the ceremony in the *Satapatha Brâhmana* is of course a very early one: it is long and full of most interesting details, which it will not be necessary to repeat here, the main feature being that the novitiate is understood to become an embryo, and from that state he is supposed to be born again. While he is an embryo he sits on one, or it may be two, skins of the black antelope, these skins being probably the survival of some forgotten totem. The rite, according to the *Brâhmana*, had become highly mystical; it was a sacrifice in which the novitiate is not only the sacrificer, but he is also the sacrifice. He is at the same time a god, and he sacrifices a god to a god. This is possibly a development from the 'ghosts' of the more

primitive ceremonials already described. The Brahman's first birth was from his father and mother—that was a material birth; but the second birth is the best, for it is spiritual, being a birth into the light and knowledge of the Vedas.[1]

The Parsee boy, when initiated into the Zoroastrian faith, also receives a sacred cord, or thread girdle, called the 'kusti,' which, like the Brahman with his cord, he wears constantly on his person. It is now well known that at some former period, which is roughly guessed at as being three or four thousand years before our era, a separation took place among a large body of people belonging to the Aryan family. There is considerable difference of opinion as to where this took place. Central Asia, or somewhere thereabout, is sufficiently near for our present purpose.[2] One body of these people came south, crossed the Indus, and moving through the Punjab, became the dominating race in India. These became the Hindus, and their religion developed into what is now known as Brahmanism. The other section may have remained at or near the original point of separation, or spread westward into Persia. Their religion developed into what is now known as the Zoroastrian system, of which the Parsees are still the followers. By the time that the sacred books of these two systems came to be written, the language in each case had undergone considerable change, but still their close identity can be easily recognised. The same

[1] These details will be found in the *Brâhmanas*, particularly in the *Satapatha* and in the *Grihya Sûtras*, published in the *Sacred Books of the East*.

[2] Professor Schrader is inclined to place the original Aryan home north of the Caspian. See his *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, chap. xiv.

with the two mythologies; the links of connection have been dealt with by many writers. Some of their ceremonies are very similar, and among these, scholars have recognised that the sacred cord must have been in use among them before the separation occurred.

To the above it may be added that evidence can be found that the initiatory rite with the kusti was also regenerative in its significance. When this ceremony is performed—at least in the case of boys entering into the priestly order—the novitiate is secluded for nine days, during which he goes through a course of study and discipline: these nine days are said to be typical of the period of gestation, and on the tenth day he is bathed, in order to purify him from the uncleanness he is supposed to have as a newly-born babe.[1]

The importance attached to this last point consists in its being conclusive proof that the regenerative meaning had been associated with the sacred cord ceremony before the separation took place of the two branches, the Brahmanical and the Zoroastrian; this throws back the existence of the ideas connected with it two, three, or four thousand years B.C., or it may be more, as the exact date is as yet only a rough guess. But with the knowledge already given, that these ideas are found among races in a very primitive condition, we may be justified in assuming, at least the probability, that the rite with its simulation of a rebirth may have existed among the Aryan race from a very early period.

[1] See Introduction to the *Zend-Avesta*, by James Darmesteter, p. xciv., note; also *The Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast*, chap. xiii. 2; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v. p. 354, chap. xii. 26, also p. 349.

According to Darmesteter, Zartust, or Zoroaster, belonged to Media, and his birthplace was either at Atropatene or Ragha, the same as Rai, the ruins of which are yet visible near Tehran. The province of Fars—which gives the name to Persia, and from which 'Farsee,' the Hindostan word for a Persian comes, and also the word 'Parsee'—is at the head of the Persian Gulf. So the land from Media to the Persian Gulf was at one time Zoroastrian in its religion, and Mesopotamia, if not of the same cult, was at least in close touch with it.

A good amount of knowledge has come down to us about the Ancient Mysteries; and yet there is much that is uncertain regarding some parts of them. A work upon them by a properly qualified writer, who could bring all the knowledge of the day to bear on the subject, would be a valuable addition to our literature. The examples of initiatory rites already given in these pages will enable us to apply the comparative method, at least as far as it will go, and fortunately it will be found to be almost enough for our present purpose. In these we have seen that a descent to the under world and a return from it is common: the novitiate is at times swallowed up and disgorged again; he dies and receives a new life. Some of these rites were connected with the supply of food, and it has already been pointed out that the Eleusinian Mysteries had some relation to this important necessary of life. To this it may be now added, that the legend of Persephone being carried away to the under world, and her return again, repeats the same idea that is so prominent in other rites of initiation. Whatever the ceremonies may

have been at Eleusis, there is at least this legend, about which there is no doubt.

Perhaps the character of this legend and its signification could not be given in a better form than in the following words of Professor K. O. Müller :—'All the Greek religious poetry treating of death and the world beyond the grave refers to the deities whose influence was supposed to be exercised in the dark region at the centre of the earth, and who were thought to have little connexion with the political and social relations of human life. These deities formed a class apart from the gods of Olympus, and were comprehended under the name of the *Chthonian gods*. The mysteries of the Greeks were connected with these gods alone. That the hope of immortality first found a support in a belief in these deities appears from the fable of Persephone, the daughter of Demeter. Every year, at the time of harvest, Persephone was supposed to be carried from the world above to the dark dominions of the invisible King of Shadows (Ἀΐδης), but to return every spring, in youthful beauty, to the arms of her mother. It was thus that the ancient Greeks described the disappearance and return of vegetable life in the alternations of the seasons. The changes of nature, however, must have been considered as typifying the changes in the lot of man; otherwise Persephone would have been merely a symbol of the seed committed to the ground, and would not have become the queen of the dead. But when the goddess of inanimate nature had become the queen of the dead, it was a natural analogy, that must have early suggested itself, that the return of Persephone to the world of light also denoted a reno-

vation of life and a new birth to men. Hence the *Mysteries of Demeter*, and especially those celebrated at Eleusis (which at an early period acquired great renown among all the Greeks), inspired the most elevating and animating hopes with regard to the condition of the soul after death. "Happy" (says Pindar of these Mysteries) "is he who has beheld them, and descends beneath the hollow earth; he knows the end, he knows the divine origin of life";[1] and this praise is repeated by all the most distinguished writers of antiquity who mention the Eleusinian mysteries.'[2]

The writer of the article 'Persephone' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, says: 'In the Mysteries of Eleusis, the return of Cora from the lower world was regarded as the symbol of immortality, and hence she was frequently represented on sarcophagi.'[3]

Thirlwall considers that the Eleusinian mysteries had come down from a remote time; he writes: 'They were the remains of a worship which preceded the rise of the Hellenic mythology and its attendant rites, grounded on a view of nature, less fanciful, more earnest, and better fitted to awaken both philosophical thought and religious feeling.'[4] This judg-

[1] *Juven.*, fr. 8, ed. Boeckh.

[2] *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, pp. 230-1.

'Happy who these rites hath kenned
Ere beneath the ground he goeth;
Well he knoweth of life's end;
Well its god-given source he knoweth.'

[3] 'But the rape of Proserpine, which was exhibited in these mysteries, signifies, as we are informed by Sallust, the descent of souls.'—*The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus*, by T. Taylor, p. xxxviii.

[4] Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 140. What Bishop Thirlwall here says about the Greek mysteries coming down from a remote time finds some

ment of the antiquity of these mysteries, it may be remarked, is in perfect concordance with the previous statements in these pages.

To this may be added the well-known account which Apuleius gives of his initiation. It was secret, and not lawful for him to reveal everything; but thus much he tells:—'I approached the confines of death, and having trod on the threshold of Proserpine,[1] I returned therefrom, being borne through all the elements. At midnight I saw the sun shining with brilliant light; and I approached the presence of the gods beneath, and the gods of heaven, and stood near and worshipped them.'[2] Again he states: 'I

confirmation in Strabo's statements regarding other mysteries, which he describes as orgiastic, accompanied with noise and shouting, but more particularly with dancing, which has been shown to be a marked feature of the more primitive mysteries or initiations as they have been already given in these pages. '. . . Accounts relating to "Curetic affairs" and "concerning the Curetes" have been considered as identical with accounts "concerning the people [of the same name] who inhabited Ætolia and Acarnania." But the former differ from the latter, and resemble rather the accounts which we have of the Satyri and Silenes, Bacchæ and Tityri; for the Curetes are represented as certain dæmons, or ministers of the gods, by those who have handed down the traditions respecting Cretan and Phrygian affairs, and which involve certain religious rites, some mystical, others the contrary, relative to the nurture of Jupiter in Crete, the celebration of orgies in honour of the mother of the gods in Phrygia, and in the neighbourhood of the Trojan Ida. There is, however, a very great variety in these accounts. According to some, the Corybantes, Cabeiri, Idean Dactyli, and Telchinen are represented as the same persons as the Curetes; according to others, they are related to, yet distinguished from, each other by some slight differences; but to describe them in general terms and more at length, they are inspired with an enthusiastic and Bacchic frenzy, which is exhibited by them as ministers at the celebration of the sacred rites, by inspiring terror with armed dances, accompanied with the tumult and noise of cymbals, drums, and armour, and with the sound of pipes and shouting; so that these sacred ceremonies are nearly the same as those that are performed among the Samothracians in Lemnos, and in many other places; since the ministers of the god are the same.'—*Strabo*, x. 111.

[1] Proserpine is the same as Persephone.

[2] *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius, B. xi.

celebrated the most joyful day of my initiation, as my natal day.'[1]

The following description of the mysteries is from a late writer—Stobaeus—whose date is supposed to be the fifth century A.D. When he lived the mysteries had probably ceased: this might, from one point of view, be considered as detracting from the value of his evidence; but it is just possible that the very opposite may be the case. If the mysteries had been suppressed, there was no longer any reason for concealment; and they may have been talked about in an open manner, and Stobaeus lived near enough to their close to have learned a good deal about them. 'The mind is affected in death, just as it is in the initiation into the grand mysteries. And word answers to word, as well as thing to thing: for Τελευτᾶν is to die; and Τελεῖσθαι to be initiated. The first stage is nothing but errors and uncertainties; laborious wanderings; a rude and fearful march through night and darkness. And now, arrived on the verge of death and initiation, everything wears a dreadful aspect: it is all horror, trembling, sweating, and affrightment. But this scene once past, a miraculous and divine light discloses itself: and shining plains and flowery meadows open on all hands before them. Here they are entertained with hymns and dances, with the sublime doctrines of sacred knowledge, and with reverend and holy visions. And now, become perfect and initiated, they are free, and no longer under restraints; but, crowned and triumphant, they walk up and down the regions of the blessed, and celebrate the sacred mysteries at pleasure.'[2]

[1] *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius, B. xi.

[2] *Sermo*, cix.

It may be worth noting here that dancing was a marked feature in almost all the primitive initiations; and most of the accounts agree that it took place in the ancient mysteries.

With these statements before us, it will be unnecessary to go further into the character of the Eleusinian Mysteries, about which there exists such a wide diversity of opinion. They, as well as the other mysteries, are admitted to be more ancient than the Greek mythology—so far as it is found in Hesiod or Homer. Most writers are agreed that the divinities of the mysteries are 'Pelasgian,' which is only another mode of affirming their early and primitive character. It is very probable that with an imaginative people like the Greeks, the ceremonies underwent considerable changes, and may have been developed into a highly dramatic form, in which the first conceptions of the ritual may have been obscured or lost. Hence it is not of great consequence what took place in these mysteries at a later date. The initiatory legend, about which there is no doubt, speaks for itself, and tells us almost all that we require to know for the purpose of these pages.

The attempt to explain the Jonah legend as having its origin in some form of ancient initiation may appear to many as basing it on what is rare and exceptional, and on that account not at all probable. Although a large amount of literature exists on initiations, still the subject is not a popular one, and even the omnivorous reader, it may be assumed, is not familiar with it. Add to this that there is now a considerable amount of new information lately collected—some of which has been transferred to these pages—

which throws much fresh light on the points involved, and it will be understood that the time will soon come when it can be treated in a more comprehensive and satisfactory manner than has yet been done. Here the subject cannot be treated exhaustively, but some reference was necessary to show that initiatory rites began at a very early period, that they have been continued down to the present day, and that instead of being rare and exceptional, the very contrary is the case. The Brahmanical and Zoroastrian initiations, as already described, are a good illustration of this. It has been shown that they existed at a far-back date, and are still continued over the whole of India at the present time. For the reason just given, it may be as well to show here from classic writers to what extent initiatory rites were practised.

It will assist our consideration to point out some of the principal characteristics that belonged to these peculiar rites. Killing the person, and bringing him to life again, has been shown to have been a marked feature. Carrying the novitiate away to some place supposed to be the 'other world,' and causing him to return; the 'other world' was generally understood to be the lower world, or it might be hell or heaven, the grave or tomb. The persons acting in the ceremonial were supposed to be beings of the 'other world,' and might be ghosts or gods, or may have been priests only. In some cases a rebirth was simulated, and the novitiate became a new person, and forgot everything that he had previously known. The Brahman after his initiation becomes 'one of the twice born.' Being a new person in virtue of the rite, a new name

was at times given, and the old name ceased to be used. Often there is a god, or divine person, who is said to have died, generally by a violent death, who comes to life again;[1] and the details of this story become the legend of the initiatory rite. The novitiate is supposed to represent that person—in some cases he is in fact said to be that person—and his death and coming to life again is performed in imitation of the legend. The rites had generally the word 'mystic' or 'mysteries' attached to them. Those who go through such ceremonies are in many cases called 'brothers,' because they are thus born into a community,[2] a family, a clan, a sect, or an order, to which a special dress or insignia belonged: in early times this was often the skin or part of some animal. In the Dionysian mysteries one part of the sacred dress is thus described:

> '. . . from above the broad all-variegated skin of a wild fawn
> Thickly spotted should hang down from the right shoulder.'

By glancing back at the descriptions of ceremonies in these pages, the most of these attributes will be found in them; and a remembrance of them will assist the reader in understanding others yet to be given. In many cases, through modifications in the course of time, ceremonies were curtailed, and only one, or perhaps two, of the features survived to indicate what the original character had been. It may be noticed that although the rites or legends vary, yet it can be

[1] Moore writes very contemptuously of these in *Alciphron*—

> '. . . dead Gods, . . . mortal Deities,—
> Amphibious, hybrid things, that died as men,
> Drowned, hanged, empaled, to rise, as Gods, again.'

[2] 'He can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother.'—Cyprian, *Treatise on the Unity of the Church*, pp. 5, 6.

discovered that they might be all classed under one idea, and that they were only different forms containing the symbolism of Rebirth. New systems generally accepted some of the rites of the faiths that they superseded, and from various causes, most commonly from not rightly comprehending the older ceremonial, or from the necessity of adapting the rites to the newer ideas, changes took place, and the older meaning was forgotten or lost. It is perfectly well known that in many systems rites were performed, and are still performed, in which the actors can give no sufficient explanation or reason for them. Thus we may find that initiatory rites, or fragments of them, may be celebrated even at the present day, and those going through them may be totally ignorant of their true character. From this it follows that there are many ceremonies which have descended from initiatory rites, but are so transmuted that it is often difficult to say whether they ought to be classed under the designation to which they originally belonged or not.

The list just given of the various features that belong to initiatory rites is in itself a fair witness of their multiplicity. Among those that were included among what is generally understood as the ancient mysteries, there were,—besides the Eleusinian,—the Dionysian, the Orphic, the Kabiri, the Samothracian, and the Mithraic. There were also mysteries of Zeus in Crete, of Hera in Argolis, of Athena and Dionysus in Athens,[1] Artemis in Arcadia, and Hecate in Ægina.[2]

[1] Herodotus mentions that the Gephyræans built temples of their own, which were not frequented by the Athenians, 'more particularly the temple and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.'—v. 61.

[2] See Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Art. 'Mysteria,' where a number of these are mentioned.

These names will show how extensive and common these rites were in Greece, including the islands, and we may, without exaggerating the extent, include most of the regions around, including at least the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. Euripides makes Dionysus himself say, 'Every one of the barbarians celebrates these orgies,'[1] and the poet describes the god as coming to Greece from Phrygia.

The character of the rites in most of these systems is quite as doubtful as in the Eleusinian, and not much can be affirmed regarding them. Dionysus, as Zagreus, was associated with Demeter and Persephone in the Eleusinian mysteries; and here we have one of the most common features of the initiation legend. He was said to have been torn to pieces by the Titans, and was afterwards restored to life again by Demeter. This might imply that there was a resurrection included in the Eleusinian legend, as well as the symbolism of renewed vegetable life—the one idea being made to support the other. The god coming to life again at the vernal equinox is found in other systems. Orpheus is credited with being the original founder of the mysteries, and much has been written on the Orphic system. All that can be said here is that he descended into Hades, but his failure to restore Eurydice appears to be exceptional in such legends; and it is also exceptional that his tragic death took place after this descent. I cannot pretend to explain these two peculiarities, and can only call attention to the descending into the nether world, and his being torn to pieces by the Thracian women, as being characteristic of other initiatory legends.

[1] *The Bacchæ*, l. 488.

I have already referred to the initiation of Apuleius, in which he approached the confines of death, and the threshold of Proserpine; and this branch of the subject can scarcely be left without an allusion to the descent of Odysseus and Æneas to the infernal regions. Warburton has written a long chapter[1] on the latter, in which he proves, much to his own satisfaction, that it was an initiation into the mysteries. Neither of these relations as told by Homer or Virgil appears as if intended by the writer to be an initiation: both the poets seem to be unconscious of anything beyond what the words they have written contain; and yet it is difficult to believe that a descent into Hades, including the return from it, can be altogether unconnected with the legends of the mysteries. They must in some way be an echo or survival. Some typical history may have existed, perhaps as a model, which the poets followed, and which it was considered necessary that a hero ought to go through. That Homer and Virgil both described their heroes as performing this descent is in itself a fair evidence for the truth of the suggestion. Cecrops, who is reputed to be one of the oldest of the Orphic poets—*circa* 600 B.C.—has a book attributed to him called *The Descent to Hades*, which becomes a still further proof. Another may be found in Herakles, the typical hero of the Greek mythology, who in his twelfth labour descended to the lower regions and returned again from them.[2]

Although the first introduction of the mysteries is

[1] *The Divine Legation*, vol. i. sec. iv.

[2] Æschylus makes Hermes say to Prometheus, when chained to the rock: 'To such labours look thou for no termination, until some god shall appear as a substitute in thy pangs, and shall be willing to go both to gloomy Hades, and to the murky depths around Tartarus.'—*Prometheus*, 1025.

ascribed to Orpheus, there are other theories of their origin, and many authorities say that they were brought into Greece from Egypt. If this was the case, it is very curious that our modern Egyptologists can tell us so little about these ceremonies in the land of the Pharaohs. Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, in his *Ancient Egyptians*, has some pages devoted to this subject, but it is almost wholly an account of the Eleusinian mysteries, which for want of other information he describes, so as to convey an idea of what the Egyptian rites may have been—written, of course, upon the assumption that the one was a copy of the other. As a matter of fact, he has no data to give regarding Kamic initiations; and it may be said that other Egyptologists are equally silent. The early connection of Egypt and Greece, although often touched upon by writers, is a subject that has in the future to be worked out in a more satisfactory manner than has yet been done. The primitive initiations which come to us now as almost a new revelation, have to a certain extent a bearing on this subject. Previously it was looked upon as all but a necessity to assume that such customs must have been carried from one race to another. Now that we see how people in the early conditions of civilisation had developed such ceremonies, their migration at a later date is not required as a theory. Thirlwall has been already quoted as expressing his judgment that the Greek mysteries were older than the rise of the Hellenic mythology: this itself, if correct, would go far to prove that the mysteries existed in Greece at a far-back period. It has been shown in these pages that two Aryan races in India who had been long

separated have initiatory rites, and that they can be traced so far back that they probably existed before the separation took place. The Greeks are now classed as Aryans, and they also may have carried away the custom from the original home of the race. This is of course only guess-work, but it is according to our latest knowledge, and it thus becomes at least probable.

By ascribing the origin of their own mysteries to the Egyptians, the Greeks thus implied the existence of such rites among those people; but that also implied a certain amount of reputation which must have gone forth regarding them. If the hieroglyphics contain no notice of these ceremonies, it may be that the highly organised priesthood of Egypt was able in an effectual manner to prevent their secrets from being made public. From Herodotus we learn that the Egyptians practised circumcision, which the writer of the article on circumcision in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* says has been supposed to apply only to the priesthood on their initiation into the mysteries. This rite, of course, is well known as the initiatory rite of the Jews, and was practised by the Semites and by many African tribes, including the Abyssinians. According to Herodotus, the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine acknowledge that they learned this custom from the Egyptians; and if it was not an initiatory rite in Egypt, we have the curious problem presented to us of accounting for its becoming so in Palestine.

Professor Sayce affirms that circumcision was not limited to the priestly caste in Egypt. He states that a physiological examination of the mummies of the ancient Egyptians 'has shown that it was not confined to the priests, but was customary among all

classes of the population.'[1] He adds that from a picture representing the ceremony on the walls of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, the age of the boy appears to be about eight or ten, which agrees with the period among those who still follow the rite. The same authority tells us that it is now known that the Arabs, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites were circumcised as well as the Israelites, and that 'there are indications in the cuneiform inscriptions of its existence in Babylonia.'[2] This shows that this particular operation was more common than has been hitherto assumed.

The Professor alludes also to the verb *Khatana*, which in Hebrew and Arabic means to 'circumcise,' and it at the same time expresses 'to marry,' 'bridegroom,' 'spouse,' and other words connected with the marriage state, from which it may be assumed that originally the ceremony must have had some reference to that condition in life: if this was the case it would be in harmony with other rites of a similar kind which have been here described. In the present day, when a Jewish child is circumcised he is in an endearing way called a 'bridegroom,' and a 'little husband.'

That strange and mysterious compilation known generally as the *Book of the Dead* is full of so many curious conceptions which the Egyptians entertained regarding the dead and the nether world, that it affords an ample field for speculation. That it had some connection with the mysteries and initiations of ancient Egypt has been suggested; but the book in its present form can scarcely be said to justify the

[1] *The Higher Culture*, p. 281. [2] *Ibid.*

theory. An initiatory rite contains, as has been explained, generally not only the going to the under world, but also the return from it: the *Book of the Dead* gives a lengthened account of Amentia and what is done there; it describes the state of existence which the good Egyptian may expect when he dies. He is permitted to visit his mummy, which is in the tomb, on or in the earth, but he is not supposed to return again to the visible world. So one most important feature of the initiation legend is wanting.

Admitting this deficiency in the *Book of the Dead*, still much might be urged in evidence that in its origin it was not unconnected with rites of an initiatory character. We know that the ancients were bound not to divulge the secrets that were presented to them. Herodotus and Pausanias—as two well-known instances—refuse to give certain descriptions, for this reason, that the subjects were part of the mysteries, and it would be unlawful to reveal them. In the *Book of the Dead* we find the same rule declared,—in chapter clxiii. it is affirmed that: 'This book is the greatest of mysteries; do not let the eye of any one see it; that is detestable. Learn it, hide it, make it. The Book of the Ruler of the Hidden Place is its name.' It is also called, 'this secret book of truth.'[1] 'Tell it not to anybody, either thy father or thy son; but keep it to yourself as a true secret.'[2] Initiations were always called 'mysteries,' and this character is repeatedly declared regarding

[1] Chap. cxlix. p. 301. This is taken from Dr. Birch's translation. I am aware that new renderings have been given to the hieroglyphics since his translation was made, and the quotations in this case may be liable to change from fresh renderings of the language.

[2] Chap. clxii. p. 318.

what is told in this book. Secret passwords are another of the features, and these are very prominent in the *Book of the Dead.* When the defunct enters the Boat of the Sun, each part of it bids him tell its name, and each has a mystical cognomen which must be repeated: there are no less than twenty-three of these names. He has also gateways and halls to pass through, and this can only be done by giving the passwords, all of which he is supposed to have previously learned. This in itself almost implies that he must have gone through some form of initiation to acquire them while living;—if this is not the book of the initiatory rites, it may in all likelihood contain exactly what was taught in them. No one can read the book without being struck by the dramatic character of the performances, and that has been shown to be peculiarly distinctive of initiatory ceremonies. The dramatic character of the *Book of the Dead* is affirmed by Le Page Renouf. He writes: 'It must never be forgotten when reading these texts, that the Egyptian priests had divine titles, and that their ceremonies were dramatic, and symbolical of the acts performed by the gods.' These words, from such a high authority among Egyptologists, are distinct enough on this aspect of the subject.[1] Another familiar point in such rites may be found—that is, a locality mentioned as existing in Amentia, or the Egyptian Hades, the name of which was *Meshken,* or the 'Place of Rebirth.' Add to this that the deceased person becomes Osiris, the god who was torn to pieces and revived again, and this list will be found to contain almost all the details that have already

[1] *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæology*, vol. xiv. p. 219.

been enumerated as belonging to mystical ceremonies.

The death and resuscitation of Osiris is in itself the perfect type of an initiation legend, but taken in connection with the remarkable details of the *Book of the Dead*, the evidence becomes very strong. His death bears a strong resemblance to that of Dionysus, and the explanations given of it are generally acknowledged to include the rebirth of the vegetable as well as the animal world—which is accepted in the case of Dionysus. According to Plutarch, the 'Raising of Osiris' was a ceremony performed every year, and like other vernal celebrations it was accompanied with gladness and rejoicing.

The question as to whether the *Book of the Dead* could have at first originated in initiatory ceremonies becomes, from what has been shown above, one of considerable interest. No direct evidence on this head is at present possible, and it can only be looked upon as a speculative subject. Nothing is known of the origin of the book; the materials of which it is formed are said by all the authorities to be old—some of it older than any date Egyptology has yet penetrated back to. Here the Primitive initiations come in with their new light. When these rites were looked upon as only possible at a late date of human history, no one would have ventured to suggest them as a likely origin of ceremonies that go back to the early history of any people. Now, from what we know, if any one were to affirm that the dramatic performances described in the *Book of the Dead* were acted ceremonies in the first dawn of Egyptian history, no person could say that the sup-

position was incredible. That is about all that can be said—it would be rash and beyond the evidence to say any more. Nothing positive can be asserted. It is only a question—speaking so far as we know at present of mere probability—a mere guess. The theory has this advantage, that it will account for much that is found in the *Book of the Dead.* That book is not a hymnal, neither is it a book of devotions, nor is it a declaration of faith or belief—this last is implied in it, but not formally. From beginning to end the form is that of dramatic action; the Osiris—that is the deceased person—acts, and he speaks in a dramatic manner; and it is the same with the personifications that appear throughout the piece. The ghosts, or beings of another world, which were found in the primitive initiations, are in the Egyptian Amentia developed into a numerous hierarchy of gods. Suppose that these were at first actors, each with a function to perform and a character to sustain, and we find ourselves with a reasonable theory of their origin. I am quite aware that this is a mere guess, but it is at least in keeping with the character of the book, as well as with the dramatic form of the mysteries in other places in early times.

The supposition here is, that the initiatory forms within the historical period in Egypt, which so many ancient writers affirm did exist, were different from those in the *Book of the Dead.* The newer ritual may have been brought in by some conquering race, and although it may have practically superseded the older—which would explain how the older ceased to be secret—yet the mass of the people may have clung to the forms they were accustomed to, and they would

still have faith in the sacred words and speeches which opened up the way through the under world; and this would lead to the custom, which has continued, of the dead having special chapters from the Book written and deposited in the tombs, as well as written on the coffins.

In the older initiations almost the whole male population underwent the ceremony. This was the case with the Brahmanical and Zoroastrian followers, and almost all the people in Melanesia and Australia were the same. This may have been the case in primitive Egypt, while in the later times it was only the priesthood, or persons of a certain rank or position, that were permitted to undergo the rite. We have a slight evidence that the Pharaohs and priests were initiated. In the hieroglyphics the figures of gods and kings are represented with an animal's tail hanging down behind, and priests wear the spotted skin of a panther, as if it were a surplice. These, I assume, were probably the particular 'clothing' they received at their investiture.[1]

The following from Herodotus may be given as an evidence that mysteries were celebrated in Egypt—what the Greek historian took for Minerva we may assume to be Isis, who was worshipped at Sais:—'At Sais also, in the sacred precinct of Minerva, behind the chapel and joining the whole of the wall, is the tomb of one whose name I consider it impious

[1] 'The difficulty that then arises, viz., that the Egyptians are called uncircumcised, whereas Herodotus and others state that they were circumcised, has been obviated by supposing those statements to refer only to the priests and those initiated into the mysteries, so that the nation generally might still be spoken of as uncircumcised (Herod. ii. 36, 37, 104; and Wesseling and Bähr *in loc.*).'—Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. Circumcision.

to divulge on such an occasion. And in the enclosure stand large stone obelisks, and there is a lake near, ornamented with a stone margin, formed in a circle, and in size, as appeared to me, much the same as that in Delos, which is called Circular. In this lake they perform by night the representation of that person's adventures, which they call mysteries. On these matters, however, though accurately acquainted with the particulars of them, I must observe a discreet silence.'[1] To this he adds:—'And respecting the sacred rites of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, although I am acquainted with them, I must observe silence, except so far as it is lawful for me to speak of them. The daughters of Danaus were they who introduced these ceremonies from Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgian women; but afterwards, when almost the whole Peloponnese was depopulated by the Dorians, these rites were lost; but the Arcadians, who were the only Peloponnesians left, and not expelled, alone preserved them.'[2] There is one point illustrated in this last quotation, that is the possibility of a system and its ceremonies being exterminated by an invasion. Herodotus leaves us in doubt as to whether his knowledge of the Greek mysteries was the 'open sesame' to the Egyptian, or if he was initiated into them. His words would seem to imply that he had been admitted to them. Diodorus and Plutarch state that the Thesmophoria was due to Orpheus. This differs widely from what Herodotus says; still his words, whether right or wrong, serve to show that there must have been some similarity between the mysteries of Greece and Egypt at the period when he wrote.

[1] B. ii. 170-1. [2] *Ibid.*

It is generally a rash thing to affirm that any particular subject has not been written about—few subjects of any consequence have been left altogether untouched, and initiatory rites have no doubt been dealt with—but I believe that, with the exception of the Greek mysteries, nothing notable has been written upon them since Warburton's time. These rites were as a rule secret, and owing to that, knowledge regarding them is uncertain, and at the same time limited. This is sufficient to explain why so little appears about them in books. The later knowledge which has been derived from races in a rude state of civilisation—a portion of which has been repeated in these pages—opens up a new chapter upon this subject, which will no doubt lead to further investigations; because it may now be seen that initiatory rites are intimately connected with man's first ideas regarding death, the next world, and the ghosts or gods that exist there. This has never been even suspected before, and it presents us with quite an original phase in the history of religious ideas. This knowledge is almost entirely new, and has yet to be studied in order to realise the influence it may have had on the evolution of mythology. If gods were developed from actors in a drama—to give an illustration—instead of from abstract ideas,—this last being the usual theory—we may have to form a very different conception of many of the characters of deities that have come down to us. We may expect new light upon many things that have survived from the mythic period, and we may have to alter some of our established theories. This essay is in itself an illustration of what is here urged; it is an effort to

explain an old legend by means of this newly discovered knowledge.

When the students of hieroglyphics have realised this new aspect of things, they may perhaps be able to discover traces of it in the remains of Egyptian writings. In archæology it often chances that peculiar things are not found till they are looked for. A hint or suggestion occurs to the mind of the student that some idea, or form, or custom, or whatever it may be, might exist in the branch of knowledge he has under his consideration; and although he never noticed it before, it appears plain enough when he thus seeks for it with the new light as a guide, and he becomes surprised as to why it had before escaped his observation. It would be a most important contribution to our knowledge to have some idea of the initiatory rites of the ancient Egyptians. What has been written here, it must be frankly confessed, is nothing more than vaguely guessing about them.

In Mesopotamia the story of the descent of Istar into Hades bears a striking resemblance to that of Persephone. The legend indicates that while the goddess was below the reproductive powers had ceased above: herein is the likeness to the old Greek myth, otherwise we have a marked difference. Tammuz, the beloved bridegroom of Istar, is below, and the purpose of her descent is to bring him up again. Professor Sayce identifies this resurrection myth with that of Adonis and the 'sun-god Osiris.' No evidence has as yet been discovered that this descent of Istar was employed as an initiation legend; it can only be pointed out how exactly it would be fitted for that purpose. Attention may here be drawn to the

strongly pronounced dramatic character of the story: it is essentially a piece of acting, and by looking at it in that light we get at least an explanation so far of its origin. The wailing for Tammuz, we do know, was acted every year; and Professor Sayce seems to believe that there was another feast, 'in which grief gave place to joy at his restoration to life,'[1] the same as it was in the case of Adonis. Although nothing definitive can be derived from the Istar myth, it is fortunate that there has turned up among the cuneiform inscriptions an account of an initiatory rite, and one, too, which describes the neophyte as passing to the world below. Here is Professor Sayce's explanation of it. He says it is a 'tablet which describes the initiation of an Augur,' that is a soothsayer or prophet, one who foretells the future—the exact character is of some importance to bear in mind, as will be seen further on. The inscription states 'how he must be of pure lineage, unblemished in hand and foot,' speaks thus of the vision which is revealed to him before he is 'initiated and instructed in the presence of Samas and Rimmon in the use of the book and stylus' by 'the scribe, the instructed one, who keeps the oracle of the great gods'; he is made to descend into an artificial imitation of the lower world, and there beholds 'the altars amid the waters, the treasures of Anu, Bel, and Ea, the tablets of the gods, the delivering of the oracle of heaven and earth, and the cedar-tree, the beloved of the great gods, which their hand has caused to grow.'[2] It should be noted here that there was an 'artificial imitation of the lower world,' that with the cedar-tree, the altars, etc.,

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 231. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 240-1.

would imply the existence of a large amount of what, in theatrical phrase, is known as 'properties.'

This rite in the country of the Two Rivers may have been Semitic or Accadian in its first origin. There are many passages in the Old Testament that are suggestive of initiation, and some of them will be here referred to. The Semites, we know, had the one initiatory rite known among the Jews as the Covenant of Abraham. The history of the Semites covers a long period of time, and it also spreads itself over a considerable space of ground, and that might imply more than one initiatory system, the Jonah legend being at least one of them. The system of becoming Nazarites existed before the time of Moses. John the Baptist was a Nazarite, whose name connects him with the origin of the Christian initiatory rite. There were the Essenes, who had more than one degree; and Josephus tells us something about their system and the initiations belonging to it, but it is very doubtful if he knew much about their rites. They were ascetics of a very rigid kind. The same may be said of the Ebionites, but our knowledge regarding them also is of the slightest.

We have only a few fragments that have come down to us about Enoch in the Bible, but these, slight as they are, become suggestive when compared with our late knowledge. The name Enoch means 'initiated,' or 'initiating,' and is derived from a word with a similar meaning, including 'to imbue,' 'to train,' 'to dedicate,' and 'to consecrate.' Like Oannes the Fish-god, Enoch has the reputation of being a great teacher, and of having produced a large number of books; he is credited as having been the

inventor of writing, arithmetic, and astronomy. This reputation is perhaps of a late date, but these are exactly the attributes,—those of the Culture Hero,—that would be given to the typical figure of an initiatory system. Now, if we suppose that Enoch was such a figure, it explains in a very simple way the origin of the well-known legend about him, that he was translated to the other world.

From other sources numerous legends about Enoch are recorded, and Mirkhond, a Muhammadan writer, supplies one that suggests quite another character to the translation of the Patriarch. In this he is called 'Edris,' the learned; and when A'zrayil, 'the angel of death,' came to him, Edris made a request that he wished to see hell, which was granted. After that he desired to behold paradise. On being taken there and seeing everything, 'after some time A'zrayil wished to take Edris away from the garden, but Edris, who was aware of the state of affairs, and initiated into secrets, refused to comply, and taking refuge near a tree, resisted all the invitations of his guide, saying: "Unless the Creator of paradise and of hell removes me, I shall not quit this place." Meanwhile the Almighty—Whose name be exalted—sent an angel to arbitrate between them, who, after conversing with A'zrayil, asked Edris, who replied: "Every soul shall taste of death. I have eaten of the poison of the extinction of life, and, according to the edict, 'There is none of you but will go down to it,' I descended to hell; and, lastly, according to the command of the Most High and Glorious concerning the inhabitants of paradise, 'And they shall not go out from it,' I shall not

go out merely because of A'zrayil's words until the Omnipotent Inscrutable One orders me to do so." Then the divine announcement arrived: "By my permission he entered, and by my permission he acted; leave him alone, for the right is on his side."'[1] This reads more like a piece of acting than anything else, and instead of any one being able to avoid death, the very contrary is declared. Edris here, it is said, went below, and, being 'initiated into secrets,' when he reached paradise he refused to leave, and claimed that he had a right to remain. The correctness of his claim was recognised.

Mirkhond states that the Hebrew name of Edris, or Enoch, was Ekhnûh and Khunûh: he was born at Manaf, or Memphis, in Egypt, and he was identified by the Arabs with Hermes, who was the same as Thoth.

The translation of Elijah is usually associated by Scriptural readers with that of Enoch. The two cases are very similar, so far as the Biblical statements give us information; but then we must remember that these are only 'fragments' from 'the wrecks of a vast literature which extended over the ancient Oriental world from a remote epoch.' It is now very difficult to find these fragments, and when a fragment is discovered it does not follow that it will assist in clearing up the subject we may chance to be dealing with. Mirkhond supplies us with a fragment about Elijah, which is at least very curious, and ought not to be overlooked here. It is that the 'Widow's Son' the prophet restored to life was Yûnas, or Jonah, 'The Companion of the Fish.'[2] This, according to Jerome,

[1] *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Rehatsek's translation, vol. i. pp. 70-1.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 29.

was also a Jewish tradition. This would imply that the story was widely known in the east; and craftsmen will no doubt notice that Jonah had the reputation of being the Son of a Widow. Mirkhond states that Jonah was forty days and nights in the fish,[1] and that when he was ejected by divine command from his prison, he was 'like an infant wrapped in swaddling-clothes.'[2] These remarkable variants of the tradition are rather hard to reconcile: I only give them as I find them.

In reading the Book of Kings about Elijah's chariot, we find no explanation of it beyond the simple statement that the prophet was carried up to heaven by its means. The event has the appearance of being quite exceptional, and it has been generally considered to have no apparent connection with anything in the Jewish system. Now, unless this was a foreign legend that had been merely assimilated into the Hebrew scriptures—which is not impossible—this condition of things presents many improbabilities. It turns out that there are traces to be found that the chariot was a recognised piece of symbolism. Dean Plumptre, who writes the article on the 'Rechabites' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, makes the following statement in relation to that particular sect:—'Another conjecture as to the meaning of the name is ingenious enough to merit a disinterment from the forgotten learning of the sixteenth century. Boulduc (*De Eccles. ante Leg.* iii. 10) infers from 2 K. ii. 12, xiii. 14, that the two great prophets Elijah and Elisha were known, each of them in his time, as the chariot (רֶכֶב, *Recheb*)

[1] *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Rehatsek's translation, vol. ii. p. 117. [2] *Ibid.*

of Israel, *i.e.* its strength and protection. He infers from this that the special disciples of the prophets, who followed them in all their austerity, were known as the "sons of the chariot," *B'nê Receb*, and that afterwards, when the original meaning had been lost sight of, this was taken as a patronymic, and referred to an unknown Rechab.' The passages referred to above in the Book of Kings are in the first, at Elijah's translation, when Elisha exclaims,—'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof'; the second occurs on Elisha's death. King Joash uttered the same words over him: this makes it evident that the sentence was that of a regular formula which was well recognised at the time. The term Rechabite, or Rechab, is a form of a Hebrew word meaning the 'Rider,' and it was a title of Jehovah. Here we have fragments left, which when put together give us a glimpse, but that glimpse into the past is sufficient to show that an organisation existed, with which the figure of a chariot was connected, and to which was attached a system of some kind. The original meaning of some of it, or perhaps much of it, as the learned Dean's words would indicate, was afterwards 'lost sight of.' The Rechabites were at one time a large and important sect, who seem to have retired from what were then the advanced forms of social life, and returned to a nomadic and more primitive existence. They were extremely ascetic, and were looked upon as a kind of Nazarites, and there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that they had some form of vows or initiation, and that the 'chariot' was in some way connected with it: they

were known as the 'sons of the chariot.' However, this, with our present knowledge only to guide us, must be looked upon as nothing more than problematical.

In the Chaldean story of the deluge, Hasisadras —or Sisuthrus, as the name is given by Professor Sayce—who is the Noah of the legend, was for his piety after the flood translated to a place among the Gods. Here, as in the case of Enoch and Elijah, no mention of his return is hinted at. The Chaldean story was one of twelve tablets, and the deluge one is the eleventh. Each tablet had a story upon it, and each corresponded with a sign of the zodiac—the eleventh was appropriately connected with Aquarius, the water carrier—suggesting that the flood was only typical of the yearly season of rain. But another, the sixth tablet, recorded the Descent into Hades by Istar, who went to restore to life her lost husband Du-zi, the Tammuz or Adonis of Palestine. Here is what Professor Sayce says of this god :—'Now Tammuz is plainly Tam-zi, "the sun of life," or morning, the hero of the Babylonian flood-story whom Berosus calls Sisuthrus.'[1] This identification of Tammuz with the hero of the flood-legend may be of later origin than the other, for Professor Sayce has shown how the myths of Mesopotamia changed and assumed new forms at a far-back date. If the Descent of Istar is as old as the deluge story, then the Chaldean Noah did descend to the lower world and return again, and we may also suppose that everything relating to Enoch and Elijah has not been recorded.

[1] *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. iii. pp. 162-3.

Elijah restored the 'Widow's Son' to life by stretching himself on the body 'three times,' and crying to the Lord; and a dead man that was placed in the sepulchre of Elisha came to life again from touching the bones of the prophet. Here again I should be inclined to suppose that these were also some form of ritual, rather than pretended miracles. Nothing certain can be affirmed, and I only allude to them in passing. Here, I may also mention, that Mirkhond records that Joseph was 'three days and nights at the bottom of the well, during which time Jebrâil came every day to give him the consolations of the invisible world, and informed him of future hopes, which pacified Yusuf till time elapsed and his delivery took place.'[1] The three days and nights in the well gives the tale of Joseph a character which might be only a variant of the Jonah legend. Although not venturing to speak with certainty on any of these, some slight probability will be found from what is to follow, for it will be shown that there exists even in our own day a large number of fragmentary survivals of initiatory rites.

The initiatory rite of the Christians is stated to have originated with John the Baptist. Now, John is understood to have been a Nazarite, an Ascetic: 'his dress was that of the old prophets,' and he appeared 'in the spirit and power of Elias'[2] or Elijah. This in itself becomes pretty strong evidence that the old prophets had initiatory rites. The ritual of the sons of the chariot may have been different from the baptismal rite, but we may suppose that a number of

[1] *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Rehatsek's translation, vol. i. p. 216.
[2] Luke i. 17.

rites may have existed. The initiation of a prophet or priest would no doubt be different from that of his disciples or followers. This might account for some of the variations in the rites that may have been practised. Initiatory rites of a separate character even exist in the present day. Two of these were in vogue at the beginning of the Christian era—these were circumcision and baptism—and are still continued in the nineteenth century.

The ceremony of baptism is declared to contain in it a death and a resurrection. The statements on this point are distinct enough: 'Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead.'[1] This is repeated by Paul: 'Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.'[2] It should be noticed here that these extracts make Christ the typical novice of an initiatory rite, of which the crucifixion and the resurrection is the legend. A highly spiritual symbolism is added by declaring that the rite means a death unto sin, and a rebirth into righteousness. This is indicated by Paul, and is also expressed in the

[1] Col. ii. 12.

[2] Rom. vi. 4. 'In Apostolic times the body of the baptized person was immersed, for St. Paul looks on this immersion as typifying burial with Christ, and speaks of baptism as a bath.'—*Catholic Dictionary*, Art. Baptism. 'By King Edward's book, the minister is to dip the child in the water thrice; first, dipping the right side; secondly, the left; thirdly, dipping the face towards the foot. This trine immersion was a very ancient practice in the Christian Church, and used in honour of the Holy Trinity; though later writers say it was done to represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, together with his three days continuance in the grave.'—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ed. 1823, Art. Baptism.

baptismal formula of the Prayer Book. High churchmen give a literal interpretation to this, and believe that an actual regeneration takes place in virtue of the ceremony. This has been a common transmutation to be found everywhere in the history of symbols, in which the symbol becomes in course of time the thing symbolised. [1]

This is not the only celebration with a death and rebirth in it that is practised in the present day. In the ceremony known in the Latin Church as the 'Profession of a Benedictine,' or the reception into the Benedictine order of a new member, the neophyte is laid down as dead before the altar with a black pall over him: candles are placed at his head and feet. While in this position mass is said, and then the Deacon approaches the prostrate form, and says, 'O thou that sleepest, arise to everlasting life.' The initiate at this rises, and going to the altar receives the sacrament, and then takes his place among the 'brethren,' they receiving him each with a kiss.[2] The church explains the ceremony as meaning that the man becomes dead to this world, from which he retires, to enter a new life of righteousness. This is the same meaning that is given to the baptismal rite, but a simulated death and a rebirth from it is older than the monastic system of the Christian church. From this fact we may gather that the performance was not invented by the monks. At

[1] A letter was published in the papers, in Oct. 1895, from Mr. Gladstone on 'Baptismal Regeneration,' which indicated that he believed in, or at least was inclined to accept, the literal sense of what is ascribed to the ceremony.

[2] An illustration of this ceremony, with a slight account of it, will be found in the *Illustrated London News* for February 2, 1870, p. 232.

present I know of no evidence that they copied the older forms of the ascetic systems that existed before the Christian era: there is only the identity of idea to guide us. The monks did not require to invent the form; the death and rebirth being in baptism, it goes back to St. John the Baptist, who was a Nazarite, 'in the spirit and power of Elias.' It has also been shown that the idea of being born again is found to have existed in more than one part of the ancient world, and can be traced amongst many tribes who are yet in a primitive condition of civilisation, so we may suppose that the monks only imitated or continued a pre-existing ceremony. Be that as it may, the main point here is to show that in the Benedictine order—and I believe some rite of a similar kind is to be found in other monastic orders—this symbolical regeneration, in connection with initiation, is practised in our own time.

There is another initiation that is performed in our own day, regarding which there need scarcely be a doubt, although it is only a fragmentary survival—that is in the making of Knights of the Bath. It is by going back to early accounts of the ceremony that the clue is found. The 'raising' of the knight when he is dubbed might, to one familiar with the details, suggest that it was only a relic of a resurrection rite, but in the early form of the ceremony the knights were bathed the evening before, hence the use of the word 'Bath'; but this meant a purifying process, similar to baptism. A note given further on will show that this was the view taken by a writer of the last century. After bathing, the novitiate lay all night in a chapel with his armour off, and he was said to be

watching his armour, which is no explanation; but if we take it that the original idea was of his simulating death, from which he was 'raised' to life by the touch of his sovereign, then we have, no doubt, a true solution of the initiatory rite. Now the bathing and watching of the armour is no longer gone through, and in the ordinary mode of dubbing a knight the monarch performs the ceremony anywhere, the person who receives the honour merely kneels, he is touched with a sword, and told to 'rise, Sir John Smith.'

In this regenerative ceremony, as the person is reborn, he becomes a new person, and one feature often accompanies it: that is, he receives a new name. This is the case with the Benedictines and other orders. Numerous instances of this could be given. The Pope assumes another name on taking the Papal chair; the Emperors of Rome did the same; the Emperors of Abyssinia follow this custom—'Theodore' was an adopted name, and the late Emperor John was originally called 'Kassa' when he was Prince of Tigre. This is only a fragment that has outlived the past, and one that was, no doubt, only a survival when the Roman Emperors adopted the custom.

It may be as well to repeat here what has been already referred to at the beginning of this chapter, that the process of being born by the same means into an organised body naturally evolved the notion of kinship, and the members became 'brothers.' The term has existed in the Christian Church from the time of the Apostles, and it is common to the monastic orders. The primitive initiations which have been shown to exist over a very wide extent, and which were connected with the youth reaching the age of

puberty and manhood, may have had some relation to the evolution of the well-known tribal organisation of an early period, such as the gens or the clan. In accepting this, it is not necessary to reject the theory of totems, which is previously alluded to. I am aware that there were other methods of affiliation, but these need not preclude us from assuming that the ceremony of a rebirth, so appropriate in its symbolism, was also practised. In modern times the term 'brother' is at times used among organised bodies, where, so far as I am aware, there is no initiation, as in the legal profession. I leave my 'brother craftsmen' to add their own knowledge to what is here written.

This collection of ceremonies connected with initiation might still be added to, but enough has been here given to serve the present purpose: that is to show that these performances began at an early period of civilisation, and have continued down to the present time,—and this prevents the possible objection from being urged that there may have been a date when the Jonah legend could not have been used for an initiatory purpose. The wide geographical space over which it has been shown that these rites were practised renders it difficult to say where they could not have existed. The multiplicity of these ceremonies has been another feature. They symbolised the entrance into kinship. The Jewish rite, the 'Covenant of Abraham,' had this intention, the joining of a religious system, the entrance into manhood, citizenship, and marriage, the entrance into a priestly order: this, it will be shown, was the probable purpose of the Jonah initiation. The entrance into any con-

ventual system or body of people joined together for any particular purpose,—all these required vows to be made, or an initial formula of some kind to be gone through. These ceremonies were not all the same, but in most of them there appears to have been a passage or visit to the other world: prominent among them is that of passing into a simulated death, followed by a rebirth into what was considered to be a new person or another life. To this it may be added that in systems that had reached a higher development, the simulation of a physical rebirth became typical of a spiritual rebirth. This was the case in the Brahmanical initiation, and it will be found distinctly expressed in the Christian rite of baptism. These have been shown to have been so plentiful that it could not be said it was strange or exceptional to assume that the story of Jonah belonged to the class of initiatory legends. This, it need scarcely be mentioned, forms no proof in itself that the story was so, but it clears the ground of what might be a natural presumption in the minds of those who are not familiar with the newer knowledge that has been brought to light regarding initiations in the past.

JACKSON MEMORIAL COLLECTION

PRIEST WITH PISCINE VESTMENT

Described by Layard as the 'Fish-God.'

—LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 350.

LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*: 'Within the temple, at right angles to the entrance, were sculptured fish-gods, somewhat different in form from those in the palace of Kouyunjik. The fish's head formed part of the three-horned cap usually worn by the winged figures. The tail only reached to the waist of the man, who was dressed in the tunic and long furred robe commonly seen in the bas-reliefs of Nimroud.'—p. 350.

CHAPTER V

JONAH

'. . . and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas:

'For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.'[1]

FROM what has now been explained regarding initiations, the story of Jonah becomes simple and easily understood. The usual rendering of it presents an incongruous as well as an incredible narrative. One difficulty has been to say what fish in the sea, particularly in the Mediterranean, could possibly swallow a man. The Talmudists, to get over this, explained that a special fish was produced for Jonah on the fifth day of creation.[2] Those who have been accustomed to reject the supernatural have looked upon such tales as the offspring of ignorance, of minds that had not arrived at a full knowledge of natural law, and could believe in the existence of jins, vampires, dragons, and monsters of any kind, and consequently concluded that such tales were without meaning or sense. But that phase of treatment is a thing of the past, and a new mode of investigation has come into

[1] Matt. xii. 39-40.

[2] According to this authority the birds that fed Elijah were created at the same time.

existence. The Comparative Mythologist now finds that what were considered to be supernatural beings were evolved by a process of the human mind, which, although it varied, had almost everywhere strong points of similarity. The Folklorist again finds that tales and legends, including rites and customs, have been evolved by an unconscious method, which has produced almost the same results in widely separated parts of the world. This newer process of investigation differs widely from the older, which might be called idle or vague speculation: it means hard work, the labour of carefully collecting, and then comparing. The attempt has been here made to follow that method, and the result must be left for others to judge.

Upon the theory that the story was a ceremony, and consequently a piece of acting, the place the initiate was going to would be understood, and would be expressed by some one among those who took part in the celebration. That they were in a ship would also be understood—dramas at an early period were very limited in scenery and properties. A Chinese actor, when he has to ride in a chariot, merely carries in his hand a paper cut out like a wheel; a ship, if he had one to indicate, would no doubt be suggested in a similar manner. Although not essential to the theory, I incline to believe the rite was connected with the initiation into a priesthood, and on that account it probably took place in a temple or in a building, perhaps with a pit or cave, connected with one. In this place there may have been a representation of a fish, or a cave or cell known by that name. In mediæval sculptures and pictures the mouth of a

monster, very fish-like, is represented as 'the mouth of hell,' out of which Christ is leading Adam; Christ's return from Hades being the same as Jonah's, or at least being typified by it, suggests a corresponding figure as a reasonable supposition.[1]

These are mere minor details, and of little importance as to how they were arranged: the main point is to see if the symbolism of a rebirth is conveyed in the story, and in this I think it will be found that no possibility of a doubt can exist. In the first statement—that Jonah was in the 'belly of the fish,' the translation may be accepted as literal enough; but in the prayer, where the word 'belly of hell' occurs, the words are remarkable. A more exact translation would be the 'Womb of Sheol.'[2] Gesenius explains the first of these words as being used as a trope, with the sense of 'innermost part,' or 'the deepest recesses of Sheol'; but the rebirth of Jonah after his three days and three nights shows that these words can

[1] Curiously enough, since the above was written I have come upon the following:—'In the Hebrew Bible the word *sheol* is employed in two totally different ways. In the first *sheol* is regarded as a huge and insatiable monster,[1] whose belly can never be filled; it takes a long and deep breath before it swallows up entire multitudes of those who pass from this earth into the realms of complete isolation;[2] it refuses to release from its clutches those who have become its prey,[3] and in its cruelty it rivals the fierceness of human jealousy.[4] In regard to its insatiability it is equal to *Abadon*, a name which is supposed to signify perdition, but only in the sense of showing that persons had been lost to the companionship of their mortal surroundings, without a chance of recall.'—A paper upon Hell, by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, *Proceeds. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. x. p. 335.

[2] בֶּטֶן admits of being translated 'belly,' but it also means 'womb.' The word מֵעֶה, or מְעֵי, translated as 'belly' of the fish, also admits of the sense of 'womb'; but the previous word seems to have more especially that meaning.

[1] Proverbs xxvii. 20. [2] Isaiah v. 14, Habakkuk ii. 14. [3] Hosea xiii. 14. [4] Song of Solomon viii. 7.

scarcely convey all the meaning that was intended. Jonah—or the initiate, who would be called 'Jonah' —might have repeated the words, 'belly of the fish': these would have described his position—but he did not use them in his supplication. In his prayer he uses the sentence, 'out of the womb of Sheol,' or 'the grave,' which is in perfect keeping with the process he is supposed to undergo in the ceremony. The Hebrew word דָּג, *Dag*, a 'fish,' is supposed by most authorities to be derived from a root signifying 'to multiply,' 'to be increased': this expresses its large reproductive powers, and will explain why the fish occupies such a large place in ancient symbolism, a subject that will be dealt with further on.

Although Jonah was understood to be inside a fish, we have the distinct statement that he was at the same time supposed to be in 'Sheol,' which is translated in the A. V. as 'Hell,' but it might be rendered as 'Hades,' or the 'Grave.' This in itself is sufficient to show that there was no real fish in the case, and that, on the contrary, it was the dramatic action of a ceremony, with its symbolic accessories. This is confirmed by the words that follow in the 6th verse, where Jonah says, 'I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me for ever.' If the prophet was inside a fish, swimming in the sea, it will be rather difficult to explain these lines. The sentence that follows is, 'Yet hast Thou brought up my life from corruption, O Lord my God.' In the new Revised Version instead of 'corruption' there is the word 'pit'; both of these words evidently mean the same thing, that is, that he was in the grave, or sheol, the pit being the place of corruption.

All this is confirmed by a Talmudic authority, which says, '"I went down to the bottoms of the mountains" (Jonah ii. 6). From this we learn that Jerusalem is situated on seven hills.[1] The world's "foundation stone" sank to "the depths" under the Temple of the Lord, and upon this the sons of Korah stand and pray. [They] pointed this out to Jonah. The fish said unto him, "Jonah, behold thou art standing under the Temple of the Lord; therefore pray, and thou shalt be answered."'[2]

This, being from the Talmud, may be called 'Rabbinical rubbish,' but it is in perfect keeping with the statements in the Book of Jonah. If he was at the bottoms of the mountains, under the earth, and in a pit, he might have been under the Temple. Those who cling to the literal interpretation will, without touching on this last statement, have quite enough to do in explaining the words contained in the Book of Jonah itself; but even the Talmud was not likely to make a declaration of this kind unless there had existed some traditionary basis for it.

Some of the traditions of the Temple have been transferred to the Holy Sepulchre: this may account for the following, which is from the pilgrimage of Felix Fabri, a monk of Ulm, who lived in the fifteenth century. On reaching the Holy Sepulchre he apostrophises the spot, and recalls the various types of the death and resurrection it suggests: among these he gives the following:—'In this sepulchre,

[1] It was a Talmudic belief that the Holy City stood on seven hills, which may have been derived from the Romans; but the Kaabah at Mekka, or the Bayt-el-Maamur, of which the Kaabah was a copy, is said to be right under the seven heavens, and the seven earths are underneath.

[2] *Pirke d'Rab. Eliezer*, chap. x.

87227

. . . Jonah came forth unharmed from the whale's belly.'[1]

The world's 'foundation stone,' the אבן שתיה, *Eben Shetiyeh*, is supposed to be the Sakhrah or Sacred Rock, over which the Dome of the Rock is built in the old temple enclosure at Jerusalem. The exact position of the temple has been a difficult matter to determine; and although Mr. Fergusson's theory on the subject is now all but rejected, there still remains a limited space within which authorities differ regarding the site; but the general conclusion now is that it stood on or near to the Sacred Rock, which is, at the same time, the traditional site. The Rabbis say that the Ark stood on the Foundation Stone; others suppose that it was the place of the altar. Be that as it may, there is a cave under this rock, called the *Mughârat al Arwâh*, or 'Cave of Souls.'[2] There is also in the floor of the cave an opening, which is closed up, but it leads to caves or tanks beneath: as yet these have not been explored—it is called the *Bîr al Arwâh*, or 'Well of Souls.'[3] These names belong to the strata of Muhammadan tradition, and how far they are based on or justified by data previous to the Moslem era it is difficult to determine. The attributes that were given to the stone of Jacob's dream were ascribed to the Sakhrah, and the place was believed to be another 'gate of Heaven.' According to Jalal-Addin, in his *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, there is a constant passage of angels bearing

[1] *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. viii. p. 380.

[2] *Palestine under the Moslems*, by Guy Le Strange, p. 132.

[3] *Ibid.* 'The Arabs maintain the belief that under the Sakhrah is a large well (which they call Bir-el-Arruah, i.e. *Well of Souls*) which communicates with the nether world.'—Pierotti's *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 291.

every good and blessing from heaven on the Kubbat as Sakhrah, or 'Baitu-l-Mukaddas,' the Holy House, as this author calls it. He quotes Khalid-Ibn-Moad, who says: 'Unto the house is joined a gate from heaven, by which God despatches down every day seventy thousand angels, to remit the sins of all who chaunt and pray therein.'[1] Haaman-Ibn-Ata affirms 'that every night seventy thousand angels descend upon the Mosque of the Holy Abode, to sing Hallelujahs to God.'[2] Out of the multitude of statements I will only quote another, which is by the author himself; he says, 'Herein will the buried arise, and the dead revive.'[3]

This intimate connection of the Sacred Rock with the next world bears a very close resemblance to the notions already described which belong to primitive initiations. Instead of 'ghosts' we have here 'angels' coming and going between the visible and the invisible. To this we have Jalal-Addin's declaration that 'herein will the buried arise, and the dead revive,' which is another marked feature, as has been shown, of initiatory ceremonies. This is certainly in perfect keeping with the supposition that Jonah was under the Temple. The 'Cave of Souls,' or the 'Well of Souls,' which is under the Sacred Rock,[4]

[1] *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, by the Imám Jalal-Addín al Siuti, p. 12. [2] *Ibid.* p. 13.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 209. According to Jewish notions there were three gates to Sheol, but there was also one in Jerusalem. See *Proceeds. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. x. p. 341, an article on 'Hell' by the Rev. Dr. Löwy.

[4] This particular cave, it can be shown from a Talmudic authority, would not be essential. 'Rav Annan says, whosoever is buried in the Land of Israel is buried, as it were, beneath the Altar.'—*Kathuboth, fol.* 110 *B.* Any cave or pit, as a grave, might thus be understood as beneath the Altar. In the *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 60, to Lane's *Koran*, it is stated as a belief among Muhammadans that the souls of the faithful 'remain in the

would in such a case be the 'pit' or 'Sheol' in which the three days and three nights had to be passed. This cave, it may be mentioned, must have existed when the temple stood on the spot; but as yet no one seems to know what purpose it served. The reference to it given above from the Talmud is the only instance of a passage, so far as I can remember, that might apply to it; and that is only an assumption arrived at because the cave was under the site of the Temple, where it is affirmed Jonah was when he was supposed to be in the fish.

Let it be granted that the story of Jonah is an initiatory legend, then all becomes simple and can be easily explained. The neophyte—not Jonah himself, the prophet is only the eponymous hero of the legend—would be assumed to have received orders to proceed to Nineveh, a great city—typical, like

well Zemzem,' at Mekka—so it is also a 'Well of Souls.' To this Lane adds another belief, that the souls, in the form of white birds, dwell 'under the throne of God,' p. 60. Since the above was written I find in Alfred J. Butler's *The Ancient Coptic Churches in Egypt* some statements about altars that appear to bear on this matter. The Coptic altars, as a rule, are built of stone or brick, the original purpose of which seems to be uncertain; probably it was, the writer thinks, for relics. In addition to this he says: 'Corresponding to the Altar-cavity of the Coptic Church and the sepulchrum of the Latin, there was always a place beneath the Greek altar (*sub altari locum excavatum*), called the sea, *θάλασσα* or *θαλασσίδιον*,' p. 16. This was to some extent at least the same as the Piscina of the Western church, for the rinsings of the chalice were thrown into it. In some early English churches, the author states, the drain was at the foot of the altar 'on the westward side.' According to the Eastern church there was a sea under the Altar; and in the Western church it is a piscina, or fish-pool. The author gives the following explanation:—'There is also a symbolical reason assignable; for as the altar figures the throne in heaven of St. John's vision, so this thalassa figures the sea by the throne'; and he also adds, 'in the thalassa, too, as in the sepulchrum, relics were sometimes though rarely placed,' p. 17. This thalassa and piscina, or fish-pool, are evidently survivals of some symbolism connected with temples that we have not yet found the full bearings of; but a notice of them is worthy of a place here, as they may be survivals of that typical sea into which Jonah was supposed to be placed.

Babylon or Egypt, and noted, like all great cities, for the evil going on in it; but he is supposed to disobey the command, and takes a ship bound for Tarshish. This disobedience leads to the storm, which is followed by the initiate being lowered into the pit; and the pit is known as the 'fish,' but it is also known as 'Sheol' or the 'grave,' implying that the initiate was assumed to be dead; but after the allotted time he is brought up again and restored to life, when he declares 'Salvation is of the Lord.' Add this, as it is here given, and it would harmonise perfectly with the initiatory rites already described, where it would be found to have its natural place.[1]

That the Jonah legend implied a death and a rebirth from the grave can be supported by Christian as well as by Jewish references. Christ's words leave no doubt—they become the crowning evidence. When asked for a sign, the reply was—'As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly: so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.'

This clearly settles the symbolism of a rebirth from the grave in the Jonah legend, which has been already pointed out as a necessary conclusion from his being in 'the womb of Sheol.' But the connection with initiatory rites is a separate question. Nicodemus did not understand how a man could be born

[1] Curiously enough, Mirkhond, in his account of Yûnas, as he calls Jonah, says:—'Therefore the fish approached the shore by divine command, where it ejected Yûnas like an infant wrapped in swaddling-clothes.'—*Rauzat-us-Safa*, Pt. I. vol. ii. p. 117. Is this a survival of the notion that Jonah, or the novice, was born again as an infant? Let it be remembered that according to the Book of Jonah itself he had just come from the womb.

again; he, we may suppose, confused the outward symbol with its inward meaning. Almost all symbols, and more particularly the most sacred ones, have gone through the mutation of becoming the thing, or idea, which they symbolised. Nicodemus is with us still. High church and low church continue to dispute if symbols are the things symbolised or not. The Gorham case, if I remember right, was a question as to whether a babe became regenerate or not by having water thrown upon it. I regret to include Mr. Gladstone as a modern Nicodemus, but, I suppose, it must be attributed to his early teaching. A few years ago he wrote a letter to a clergyman on baptism, and expressed himself as believing in the possibility of some action taking place in an infant by means of baptism.[1] Here we have the same misconception implied which was indicated by the words of Nicodemus. But the whole question thus involved appears to be very simple. If an operation really takes place, either physical or spiritual, then baptism in that case ceases to be symbolical; if, on the contrary, it is symbolical, then no action need be understood —the only influence that can exist is the teaching power of the symbolism. Symbols result from what may be ranked as a part of our poetic nature, and they endow religious worship to a certain extent with a poetic character; and at the same time they add, when not confused by a Nicodemus, to the educating power of religion by fixing ideas in the mind,—this is what I mean by their teaching power. It is useless

[1] This letter was dated 'Hawarden Castle, Chester, Oct. 10, 1895.' In it occurs the following:—'Why should it be incredible with us that there should be a renewing spiritual operation in an infant, proportioned, of course, to his infant condition?'

to rail at symbolism on account of the confusion it has produced in prosaic minds, because this peculiar tendency will result in spite of every other influence. This poetic faculty manifests itself everywhere, and is found in almost all religions; and life, birth, and rebirth—including death, which is so closely allied to life—have been expressed in a multitude of poetic forms—including symbols and symbolical rites—of every kind. This notion of life coming out of death is the Great Mystery, and so far as understanding it goes, we—including even our most advanced men of science—are all on the same level with Nicodemus; but none of us, if we will only think, need confuse the symbols of it with the mystery itself.

Types are only a particular form of symbolism, and they have been adopted to a considerable extent by the Christian Church, and in some cases the typical character is not quite apparent. According to the Prayer Book, baptism is typified by the deluge and the passage of the Red Sea. This last instance does not appear to fulfil all the necessary conditions. The children of Israel passed through safely, but they did not undergo the process of death: the Egyptians suffered death, but they did not come to life again. This essential of baptism is absent in the type. Baptism again seems to fail in realising the type it is declared to represent. Where is the death and the rebirth in it? These changes may be merely supposed to take place, which is exactly what has been described as occurring in ceremonials as pieces of acting. The doctrine of being born again became a very prominent one in Christian teaching, and it is

still a favourite subject—particularly with popular preachers, who are doubtless under the delusion that it is an exclusive article of their own faith, and are probably as ignorant regarding its symbolism as Nicodemus was. Here we have the curious problem as to why the story of Jonah was not included as one of the types of baptism, because, according to the accepted meanings of baptism, that legend agrees with it perfectly in its symbolism, and at the same time there is a declared connection. In baptism the neophyte is declared to pass through a form of death and rebirth in imitation of the death and resurrection of Christ, and that death and resurrection is again affirmed to have had its type in the Jonah legend. Jonah thus becomes the type of both. The point here made evident is that the Jonah story is in reality the type, or legend, of an Initiatory Rite which is practised in the Christian Church to the present day.[1]

From Christ's reference to Jonah as a type of His own death and resurrection, the early Christians employed the device of the fish vomiting Jonah in the same sense: this was a favourite subject for paintings in the Catacombs, and for sculpture in sarcophagi.

[1] Didron states that: 'Baptismal fonts are more particularly ornamented with the fish.'—*Christian Iconography*, vol. i. p. 346.

PRIEST WITH PISCINE VESTMENT

From Kouyunjik, Nineveh.

This fragment of sculpture appears in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 343, as the 'Fish-God.'

CHAPTER VI

INVESTITURE, ITS CONNECTION WITH INITIATION

Man.—'From whatever beginning you admit him as springing, naked, at all events, and ungarmented he came from his fashioner's hand.'[1]

'Unto Adam and his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.'[2]

THERE are a number of illustrations of ancient sculptures to be found in books which are recognised as works of authority, such as Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, and one or two of these subjects are repeated in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Some of these are reproduced here with their original titles, such as that of the 'Fish-god,' 'Dagon, the Fish-god,' or 'Oannes, the Assyrian Dagon.' It might have been equally correct to have called them 'Jonah in the Belly of the Fish,' for in appearance they fully realise that title; but none of these words express their real character. Some of the figures that are without human legs, and end with the tail of a fish, as mermaids, or rather mermen, are represented, may probably be intended for Oannes or Dagon; but the most of them are men clothed with what appears to be the skin of a fish, and the sculptures do not represent them as the god that is worshipped, but, on the contrary, they are

[1] Tertullian, *On the Ascetic's Mantle*, chap. iii.

[2] Gen. iii. 21.

priests in the act of worshipping. Let any one inspect these illustrations, and this will be seen to be the case. In this character they become valuable evidence of the theory advanced in these pages.

Initiation, as a rule, included investiture. The organised society into which the novitiate entered by the ceremony had generally some distinctive dress or uniform, and the assumption of this dress became a part of the ritual. The order might be an ascetic one, such as Rechabites, Essenes, or monks; it might be a civil distinction, or it might be rank in a sacred hierarchy; it might be a high Pontiff, or a King or Emperor; but in each case the vestiture or insignia became the visible and outward sign of the rite that had been performed. Some of these ceremonies are now known merely as 'investitures,' but they are possibly only copies of older forms by new organisations, in which part of the older ritual is dropped out, or is merely supposed to have taken place, similar to the death and resurrection in baptism, or the passing of the night in the chapel, which had to be gone through in the early form of making knights.[1]

[1] The following quotation on knighthood is from Gibbon:—'The bath and white garment of the novice were an indecent copy of the regeneration of baptism: his sword, which he offered on the altar, was blessed by the ministers of religion; his solemn reception was preceded by fasts and vigils; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel.'—*Decline and Fall*, vol. iv. chap. lviii. p. 127. The main point of this can be supported by writers who are more orthodox in their reputation. Here is one:—'It may be proper therefore to take notice, that the great ceremony from which the Knighthood of the Bath is denominated, and which we must therefore suppose was instituted with a peculiar Design of representing the Dignity of it, hath the like Foundation as to the moral design of it, with the great and Sacred Ordinance, by which we are initiated into the Faith and profession of our religion; and it is not improbable that as bathing was intended, in the allegorical construction of it, to denote the inward purgation and future purity of the mind; so, the occasion of applying

Here it may be noticed that these illustrations of the so-called Fish-god represent the man with a fish skin which covers the head and upper part of the body. This might have been supposed to be a real skin, but two of them show the person covered from the head to the feet—literally *cap-a-pie*—and fish with skins of that size become doubtful. This naturally suggests that they are only imitations of skins, and that they were made of cloth or some kind of material. But whether it was an actual skin, or an imitation of one, is of small consequence: it is enough for the present purpose that the man appears to be clad in this manner.[1] Real skins, it will now be shown, were employed in initiatory rites, and became part of the vestments of worshippers or priests, and that leads to the conclusion, based on these sculptures, that the Jonah rite was that of an initiation into a priestly office.

This use of skins as 'clothing' in connection with religious rites has been so ably explained by Professor W. Robertson Smith, it may be well to quote what he says on the subject:—'When the dress of sacrificial skin, which at once declared a man's religion and his

it, in that sense, might be originally taken from a consideration of the Baptismal Grace and Efficacy, for the origin of this civil institution may—for the reason here mentioned—be much more probably derived from the Christian religion than from the lustrations of the heathens, with whom, it is yet allowed, bathing was used as one of their religious solemnities.'—*Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath*, by John Anstis, Esq., 1725. This shows an important change and curtailment in the initiation of knighthood which should not be overlooked in considering the possibilities of a like kind, which have already been pointed out in these pages, taking place in former times.

[1] Lenormant quotes a passage from Helladius, in which mention is made of a man named Oes, which Lenormant identifies with Hea, or Ea. This old author says that 'he was wholly human while he seemed to be a fish, having clothed himself in a cetaceous skin.'—*Chaldean Magic*, p. 202.

sacred kindred, ceased to be used in ordinary life, it was still retained in holy and especially in piacular functions. We have had before us various examples of this: the Assyrian Dagon-worshipper who offers the mystic fish-sacrifice to the Fish-god draped in a fish-skin; the old Phœnician sacrifice of game by men clothed in the skin of their prey; the Cyprian sacrifice of a sheep to the sheep-goddess, in which sheep-skins are worn. Similar examples are afforded by Dionysiac mysteries and other Greek rites, and by almost every religion; while in later cults the old rite survives at least in the religious use of animal masks. When worshippers present themselves at the sanctuary, already dressed in skins of the sacred kind, the meaning of the ceremony is that they come to worship as kinsmen of the victim, and so also of the God. But when the fresh skin of the victim is applied to the worshipper in the sacrifice, the idea is rather an imparting to him of the sacred Virtue of its life. Thus in piacular and cathartic rites the skin of the sacrifice is used in a way quite similar to the use of blood, but dramatically more expressive of the identification of the worshipper with the victim. In Greek piacula the man on whose behalf the sacrifice was performed simply put his foot on the skin (κώδιον); at Hierapolis the pilgrim put the head and feet over his own head while he knelt on the skin; in certain late Syrian rites a boy is initiated by a sacrifice in which his feet are clothed in slippers made of the skin of the sacrifice.'[1]

Attention may be here directed in passing to the rebirth principle as expressed by the victim imparting to the worshipper 'the sacred virtue of its life.'

[1] *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 416-7.

The idea of 'kindred' which thus results, a subject on which Professor W. Robertson Smith has written largely, also indicates the rebirth principle, and is the same as Brotherhood, which has already been noted as a consequence of initiation, and of which we have so many survivals. The great antiquity here indicated of the idea of kindred through initiation should be of some interest to 'Craftsmen.' Professor W. Robertson Smith also writes: 'As the skin of a sacrifice is the oldest form of a sacred garment, appropriate to the performance of holy functions, the figure of a "robe of righteousness," which is found both in the Old Testament and in the New, and still supplies one of the commonest theological metaphors, may be ultimately traced back to this source.'[1]

Here it should be noted that the skin of an animal is declared to be 'the oldest form of a sacred garment.' The same author also writes: '. . . It is equally appropriate that the worshipper should dress himself in the skin of a victim, and so, as it were, envelop himself in its sanctity. To rude nations dress is not merely a physical comfort, but a fixed part of social religion, a thing by which a man constantly bears on his body the token of his religion, and which is itself a charm and a means of divine protection. Among African nations, where the sacredness of domestic animals is still acknowledged, one of the few purposes for which a beast may be killed is to get its skin as a cloak; and in the Book of Genesis (iii. 21) the primitive coat of skin is given to the first man by the deity Himself.'[2]

[1] *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 417-8.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 416. There is a Talmudic legend according to which Adam's

There is one particular function of the Latin Church, practised at the present day, which has all the appearance of being a survival of what has been described above by the late learned professor. This consists in the preparation of the Pallia, one of which is worn by the Pope when he is fully vested as Head of the Church; and they are given by His Holiness to archbishops and high ecclesiastical dignitaries as symbols of their power and authority. On the 21st of January, St. Agnes Day, every year mass is said by a Bishop or Cardinal in the church of *Santa Agnese fuori le mura* at Rome; this is followed by the blessing of two lambs, which are placed on the altar, decorated with coloured ribbons. The lambs are taken great care of till Easter, when they are killed: one is served on the Pope's table, and the other is generally given at the same time, as a much-desired compliment, to some royal or important personage. The wool of these lambs is prepared and spun by the nuns of St. Agnes, and made into the Pallia by them; these are laid upon the tomb of St. Peter, which is said to be under the altar of St. Peter's at Rome. From that they are taken and placed on the person who is entitled to receive them, thus indicating that the power and authority they confer comes from the first of the Apostles, through the reigning Pope. It is curious to find this typical repetition of the events commemorated by the Church at Easter. Here is the lamb consecrated, and slain, and then eaten; but the feature of interest in it, for our present purpose, is

coat of skin was preserved and passed down through Enoch, Methusaleh, Noah, Ham, and Cush, and was given to Nimrod, when he was twenty years of age;—'it gave him strength and might as a hunter in the fields, and might as a warrior in the subjection of his enemies.'

EGYPTIAN SEM PRIEST

From a funeral scene. (WILKINSON'S *Ancient Egyptians.*)

that of making the wool—a portion of the skin—into a religious vestment, and one, too, that indicates the highest dignity that the Church can confer.

A skin was worn as a priestly garment in Egypt. We have them most accurately represented in paintings at Thebes.[1] The skin is that of a leopard; it is worn over the shoulders, something like a surplice. Wilkinson describes the person wearing it as the 'officiating high priest or pontiff.'

'Not to multiply instances which might be adduced from the Arctic Ocean to the Southern Seas, I will refer only to the sacred girdle worn by Tahitian kings. The red feathers which adorned this girdle were taken from the images of the gods. It "thus became sacred, even as the person of the gods, the feathers being supposed to retain all the dreadful attributes of power and vengeance which the idols possessed, and with which it was designed to endow the king." So potent indeed was it that Mr. Ellis says it "not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with their gods."'[2]

Many of the gods of Egypt are represented in the sculptures with a tail which hangs down behind from the waist. This tail, from its shape, is probably intended for that of a bull or a cow; and it is evidently a part of the costume. The ibis-headed Thoth and the hawk-headed Horus have both this same appendage: from this we see it was not intended for carrying out the particular animal character of the deities. As it is a part of the dress, the natural con-

[1] See plates 83, 84, and 85 of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt.*

[2] Quoted from Ellis, iii. *Polyn. Res.*, p. 108. *The Legend of Perseus*, by E. Sidney Hartland, vol. ii. p. 92.

clusion would be that it is a survival, that a bovine skin had been worn at some early period, and that in process of time the tail only was used. That this tail was a priestly article of costume is clearly shown by pictures and sculptures of Pharaoh with it performing sacerdotal functions. In the sculptures at Medeenet Haboo, Thebes, representing the coronation of Rameses III., that pharaoh is represented in a number of instances with this tail, in the act of worshipping.

Professor Sayce, in describing the sculpture on the tablet found by Mr. Rassam in the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, says that it represents the god Uz, the name being 'the Accadian word for a goat.' The god Uz himself is depicted as sitting on a throne, watching the revolution of the solar disc. 'He holds in his hand a ring and bolt, and is clad in *a robe of goat's skin, the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests.*'[1]

Mention has already been made of the skin of the wild fawn, thickly spotted, which was worn hanging down from the right shoulder, in the Bacchic mysteries. This must have been very much like the leopard skin worn by the Egyptian priests.

These examples are sufficient to prove that from an early period the skins of animals have been used as sacred vestments; and they go a long way to prove that the figures, clad in skins of fish, represented in the Assyrian sculptures, are performing the functions of a priestly order. It is evident from the sculptures themselves that the figures are worshipping, and not being worshipped; but the data here produced shows that the fish's skin was in all probability a priestly

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 285.

vestment. The value of these sculptures in relation to our subject will now be grasped, for they represent a priest worshipping—as Jonah did, for he prayed—in the belly of a fish.[1]

In the *Satapatha Brâhmana* there is a suggestive reference to the use of skins in a sacrificial rite, and the rite chances to be the initiatory one: this is the initiation of a Brahman into the spiritual life of light and knowledge, which has been already referred to in the chapter on initiations. Two black antelope skins are stretched on the ground, on which the novitiate sits and is consecrated as 'an embryo'; according to the *Brâhmana* the skins 'are an image of these two worlds (heaven and earth), and thus he consecrates him on these two worlds.'[2] In this *Brâhmana* the symbolism is highly involved, and in most cases an object represents more than one meaning. The antelope skin figures largely in the early days of the Vedic Aryans in India, because the animal itself had somehow become a type of the new country they had conquered. Now, by turning to another part of the ceremonial described in the *Brâhmana*, it is stated, '. . . moreover, he causes him to be born from that womb [the antelope skin].'[3] It is on these

[1] Since writing the above I have chanced on the following:—'Ea alone, in his character of "god of life," is given the fish's skin, and even then the skin is but thrown over his back like a priestly cloak.'—Prof. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 277.

[2] The *Satapatha Brâhmana*, iii. 2, 1, 1. The *Brâhmana* adds: 'But if there be only one [skin], then it is an image of these [three] worlds; then he consecrates him on these [three] worlds.'

[3] *Ibid.* vi. 4, 4, 20. The following may be looked upon as the modern form of the Brahmanical initiation. As this is written by a gentleman who is a native of India, it may be supposed to be correct as to the character of the ceremony in the present day:—'. . . in the ceremony of Upanayanam, which is the Hindu form of regeneration, the neophyte is

skins that the individual ceases to be himself and is finally born again, and receives the title of 'The Twice-born.' From this it will be understood how important this rite is. In the first place this ritual goes far back in time—the *Brâhmana* may be dated perhaps about the seventh or eighth century B.C.; yet it describes what was the practice as it existed previous to that date, and which may include a good many centuries; so it may be as old, or even older, than the story of Jonah. Now, if the two skins had not been mentioned, and we had only a fragmentary account, which merely stated that the postulant was consecrated on heaven and earth, much doubt would have remained as to the meaning of the words. Luckily, in this case we have the symbolism explained, and know exactly what was intended. When consecrated he becomes Vishnu, a god; but he is a sacrifice, and the same person is the sacrificer: it is a god who sacrifices a god to a god,—himself to himself. All this takes place on the black antelope skins. The point to be noted in this ancient ritual is, that everything connected with it becomes something else, and ceases to be what it really is; it is a piece of acting; but

actually enveloped in an antelope's skin, or silk in its absence—thus imitating nature artificially, the envelope being considered as emblematic of Jarayu or the uterus (womb), the cord or zennar of the umbilical cord, and proclaiming him afterwards dwijan or twice-born, or in another sense spiritually born, in contradistinction to the first natural or carnal birth.'—*Notes on the Three Degrees in Craft Masonry*, by Wor. Bro. Dr. S. Pulney Andy, 18° Past Master, Lodge Carnatic, No. 2031. Madras, 1890; p. 18.

Here is another reference to the Brahmanical initiation :—'This sacrifice of man is, as I have shown, the Soma sacrifice in which the sacrificer cleanses himself from sin in the baptismal bath of regeneration. This he entered clothed in the Jarayu or afterbirth, the skin of the black antelope, and emerged as the child of god, born of the life-reviving water, and thus became the twice-born. . . .'—*The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, by J. F. Hewitt, vol. ii. p. 279.

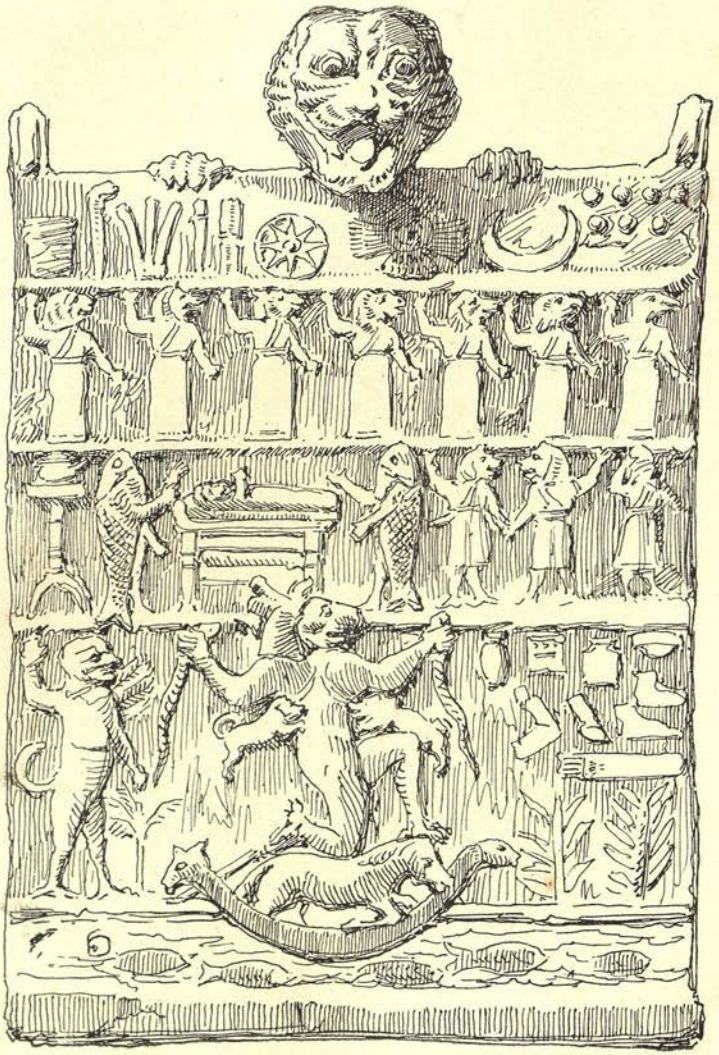
acting of this kind, it must not be overlooked, has the additional character of being highly symbolical.

Let the story of Jonah be considered in the same light as that just applied to the Brahmanical initiation, remember at the same time what has been written in these pages, and it will be easily understood how all the difficulties that surround it, as it has been previously interpreted, vanish. Look at it as an initiatory legend, wherein, as in so many initiatory ceremonies, the individual passes through a simulated death, and has a rebirth into a new life. In this case a fish was the typical place of rebirth—the 'Womb of Sheol': these words describing the place are strongly expressive of the meaning here attributed to them. As we have seen in such cases, any spot might be looked upon as the inside of the fish. It may have been a cave, or a pit, or a structural room suited for the purpose; it has been pointed out that the cave, the 'Well of Souls' under the Sacred Rock in the temple site at Jerusalem, may have been used. It was only necessary to look upon it as the belly of the fish; that was enough. The novice may have lain on the skin of a fish, or an imitation of a skin large enough to envelop the man may have been made. Whether such an article was used in the ceremony or not, we have no evidence to guide us; but we learn from the sculptures that it was employed afterwards as a priestly vestment, which leads to the conclusion that the initiation was into a sacred order. This sacred order, whatever its character may have been, supplies the reason for the initiation. The material contained in the Book of Jonah is undoubtedly fragmentary, but the fragments when properly stitched

together appear to make a complete whole, which is intelligible and reasonable. This is all that can be here claimed. Any dogmatic assertion of certainty in a speculative effort of this kind would be saying too much. The theory given here appears to solve the problem in a fairly satisfactory manner, and on that account it may be worth preserving until a better can be produced.

There is yet one very suggestive connection, which has been already indicated, but ought to be recalled here in a more distinctive manner, which seems to confirm this theory. Baptism is an initiatory rite at the present day: now, that ceremony is declared to contain the symbolism of a death or burial and a resurrection, the same as that of Christ's; and Christ Himself identified His own burial and resurrection with that of Jonah's three days and three nights in the 'Womb of Sheol'; so that, as a mere matter of fact, the story of Jonah is still here amongst ourselves the legend of an initiatory rite.

Here, before closing this part of the subject, something ought to be said about what is known as the 'Pérétié Plaque.' M. Pérétié is reputed to have at Beyrout one of the finest collections of antiquities in Syria, and this bronze tablet is one of the most curious and unique among the objects he has collected. M. Pérétié bought it from a dealer at Hama, who said it was brought to him by a peasant of Palmyra. Although its history is thus far doubtful, that the article is genuine, and not a modern forgery, is fully accepted by such good authorities as M. Clermont Ganneau and Colonel Conder, both of whom have seen the tablet. It has been described by the first of



THE PÉRÉTIÉ PLAQUE

these writers,[1] and by Colonel Conder.[2] On the back of the plaque is a fantastic monster in the form of a winged quadruped, whose head overlooks the other side. The front is divided into a series of compartments said to represent the regions of the universe according to Assyrian ideas; the upper one is supposed to typify the heavens, from its having the sun, moon, seven stars, and other well-known Assyrian symbols in it; the lower space, again, is assumed to be the under world, where there is a lion-headed goddess, which from its size becomes the principal figure on front of the tablet. She holds a serpent in each hand, and kneels with one leg upon a horse, which rests on a boat, the boat being in what is either the ocean or a river. If this is a Chaldean work, it suggests that the goddess might be a form of Tiamat, and the water might be the Great Abyss out of which everything came. Be that as it may, for our present purpose, the group that is of most interest is that which is directly above the goddess. On a couch there is a figure stretched, as if in death, and two figures, one standing at the head and the other at the feet, clothed in the fish vestments, from which they may be assumed to be priests; from the position of their arms they are performing some important ritual over the dead body. Conder defines the subject of the tablet by saying that it 'represents the gate of the soul according to Assyrian and Phœnician belief.' This may be so, and it would not on that account detract from its being the representation of an initiatory ceremonial. The point which seems to

[1] *Revue Archéologique*, December 1879.

[2] *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund of* 1881, p. 214.

lead to this last explanation will be found in the fact that the dead man does not seem to be dead, for he appears to be holding up his hand, as if it were in response to some part of the ritual. Is the man dead, or is he merely simulating death? If he is only 'pretending' to be dead, then we may assume that here we have the representation of an initiatory rite. It might be rash to assume a certainty in this case, but I feel that I am justified in producing the plaque and pointing out a possible explanation of what is represented upon it.

RAMESES III. OFFICIATING AS A PRIEST.
From Sculpture at Medeenet Haboo.

CHAPTER VII

THE FISH-GOD

'And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him.'[1]

THIS essay might have been closed with the last chapter, but it may be fitting to add something here about the Fish-god. If to this the symbolism of the fish were added, it would become a large subject; and, if written by any one with sufficient knowledge, it would form a monograph of great value to the comparative mythologist and the folklorist. Here some limits must be put to the treatment, and little more will be touched upon than is necessary to show the great antiquity of the fish as a deity and a symbol.

The sacredness of the fish is found in many parts of the world, but nowhere is it more prominent than in a region of which the top of the Persian Gulf might be described as the centre. From that it can be traced in one direction into India, in another to Nineveh, and westward to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Over this same region we find another marked peculiarity: this space includes more than one cosmogony, which has come down to us in

[1] 1 Samuel v. 4.

ancient documents, and each of these derives creation from water, or the humid principle. This not only points to a probable connection of the mythologies belonging to them that had existed at some far distant date, but it also suggests that originally the water and the fish were associated together with the creative power. Here attention may be called to what may perhaps be considered as an underlying principle, and an important one in reference to this essay: it is that these mythologies begin with the creation of the world. The creative power is generally represented as a workman, full of wisdom and knowledge, and teaches laws and science; he is 'The Great Architect of the Universe,' and as an architect teaches how to construct and build, he is the all-worker who creates all things; and it is the same personification that, in initiatory rites, is assumed to recreate, or evolve the rebirth. It was the Logos that created the world, and it is through the Logos we are reborn. This may, perhaps, explain why some religious systems begin with the creation of the world, the construction of the Great Temple, within which the life-giving principle—the most important and mysterious of all principles—continues to act. The absence or negation of this principle would be the absolute death of all things, or chaos.

In the Hindu mythology Kama, or Kama-Deva, is the God of Love. In the *Rig-veda* 'desire' or love is said to have been the first movement that influenced the primeval One.[1] *Kamas* or 'desire first arose in

[1] '. . . The great godhead of the gods, which is one.'—*Rig Veda*, iii. 55, 1. 'And the Brahmans gradually elaborated out of such expressions a conception of a single being, out of whom all gods, and all men, and all things proceeded.'—Prof. Rhys Davids' *American Lectures on Buddhism*, p. 20.

It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with nonentity.'[1] The *Atharva-veda* also says, 'Kama was born the first. Him neither gods, nor fathers, nor men have equalled.'[2] Dowson, who quotes these passages, affirms that they raise Kama to the rank of a supreme god and creator, and Muir naturally points out the striking similarity, as here described, between Kama and the Eros of Hesiod, the latter being a form of the demiurge. Kama is represented in pictures as a youth riding on his wahan, which is a parrot, with a bow of sugar-cane, the cord being formed of bees; he has five arrows, each tipped with a healing flower, and his banner is red with a Makara or Fish upon it. Among his many attributes is one that he was called Irā-ja, 'the water-born.' This comes very close upon the story of Jonah, but there is another account that approaches still nearer. According to this story, Siva, in one of his angry and destructive moods, is said to have reduced Kama to ashes, but he allowed him to be born again as Pradyumna. In this birth he was the son of Krishna, who was one of the avatars of Vishnu, and Vishnu had appeared—as will be told after this—as a fish in the Matsya Avatar. It is related of Pradyumna that when only six days old the demon Sambara carried the child off and threw him into the ocean, where he was swallowed by a fish; this fish was caught and brought to the house of Sambara, and inside of it Pradyumna was discovered as a beautiful child. The other details of this history, which are numerous, need not be told here. It is

[1] Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. v. p, 357.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 405-6.

highly possible that this is only a variant of love—Eros—and the creative power coming out of the watery abyss, or chaos.[1]

In India the fish also appears as an incarnation of Vishnu, known as the Matsya Avatar. Native pictures of this avatar often represent Vishnu as if coming out of the mouth of the fish, thus producing a strong resemblance to the story of Jonah. The account of the incarnation as told in books differs considerably from that of the prophet. The fish in India plays a very important part in the deluge legend. Manu is the hero—in the *Bhâgavata Purâna* the name is Satyavrata; he found a small fish and placed it in a tank, and as it grew he transferred it to a larger piece of water, till he had to put it in the Ganges, and at last into the sea. Owing to this tenderness and care for its life, the fish at last told him it was Vishnu, and directed the sage to construct a ship, as there would soon be a flood that would destroy the world. Manu did as he was commanded, and in the ship he placed the seeds of all things, and took with him seven Rishis[2] or wise men—Manu himself being a rishi. When the flood came, Vishnu, as the fish, appeared in the water, and guided the vessel while the deluge lasted, and finally attached it to a peak in the Himalayas, called Naubandhana, from the

[1] This legend of Pradyumna is very fully related in the *Prem Sâgar*, or 'Ocean of Love,' chap. lvi.

[2] The *Bhâgavata Purâna* says: '. . . taking with thee the plants and various seeds, surrounded by the seven rishis, and attended by all existences.' —Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 209. The *Mahabharata* puts it that 'This ship has been constructed by the company of all the gods for the preservation of the vast host of living creatures. Embarking in it all living creatures, both those engendered from moisture and from eggs, as well as the viviparous plants, preserve them from calamity.'—*Ibid.* p. 206.

THE MATSYA, OR FISH INCARNATION OF VISHNU

ship having been bound to it. Manu then, by great austerities, created all things anew. This is a very short version of the story, which will be found in the *Satapatha Brâhmana*, that being the earliest mention of it, and in the *Mahabharata*, and also in the *Bhâgavata*, *Matsya*, and *Agni Purânas*. Still, as here told, certain prominent features are indicated; these are sufficient to show that it is only another version of the Noachian deluge. There were eight persons in this ark; and instead of the animals the *Matsya Purâna* says, 'all living creatures,'[1] the 'seeds' of all things are taken on board. Most of the accounts mention the 'seeds,' but the point is of no great moment, as the same meaning is intended by both of the statements. The Hindu system has cycles of time, called 'Manwantaras'; at the end of each cycle all things are destroyed, and again reproduced. It is destruction, or death, and re-creation; in reality it is that which is constantly going on in nature. The ship in this case is the same as the fish; it is only another form of the 'Womb of Sheol,' in which the seeds of life are preserved to produce the new creation out of the watery element, and this is quite in harmony with the theory of this essay.

Let us turn now to Chaldea and the northern end of the Persian Gulf, which in early times formed part of the Erythræan sea. Here it will be as well to quote the well-known account of the Fish-god by Berosus, as it has been handed down by Alexander Polyhistor:—'In Babylon there was [in these times] a great resort of people of various nations, who in-

[1] Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 206.

habited Chaldea, and lived without rule and order, like beasts in the field. In the first year there made its appearance, from a part of the Erythræan sea which bordered upon Babylonia, an animal endowed with reason, who was called Oannes. [According to the account of Apollodorus] the whole body of the animal was like that of a fish; and had under a fish's head another head, and also feet below, similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice, too, and language was articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day. This Being, in the daytime, used to converse with men; but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters, and sciences, and every kind of art. He taught them to construct houses, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect fruits. In short, he instructed them in everything which could tend to soften manners and humanise mankind. From that time, so universal were his instructions, nothing material has been added by way of improvement. When the sun set it was the custom of this Being to plunge again into the sea, and abide all night in the deep; for he was amphibious. After this, there appeared other animals, like Oannes, of which Berosus promises to give an account when he comes to the history of the kings. Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind; of their different ways of life, and of their civil polity, and the following is the purport of what he said:— "There was a time in which there was nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters, wherein resided

most hideous beings, which were produced of a two-fold principle," etc.'[1]

Oannes, from the above description, was the god to whom all the knowledge of the period was ascribed; letters and science, including architecture: in Chaldea he taught the people how to 'construct houses,' and to 'found temples.' He also taught geometry,[2] agriculture, and everything that was calculated to improve the condition and manners of mankind. It is possible that in this we have a valuable key to the civilisation of Chaldea at an early date: Oannes was what is now called a 'culture god,' and his attributes would be what his priests taught in his name; and we may assume that they were the professors of the sciences which were supposed to have been originated by the god. The priests personified him, and, as we see from the sculptures, even copied his supposed appearance in their sacerdotal vestments.

This still leaves the question unexplained as to how wisdom and knowledge were supposed to have been brought up out of the sea by a fish. There are other traces of this idea to be found in the east. Vague and fragmentary traditions exist in many parts of writings—some of them on pillars or precious stones—that were written before the flood, intended, it is said, to preserve the knowledge that had been acquired when everything was destroyed. According to Berosus, Xisuthrus, the Chaldean Noah, wrote out by divine command a number of books, which were buried securely in the city of the Sun at

[1] Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 56-8.

[2] It may be pointed out to Craftsmen that here is a very early mention of 'The Grand Geometrician of the Universe.'

Sippara, where they remained till after the flood. When these books were found the people that survived 'set about building cities and erecting temples; and Babylon was thus inhabited again.'[1] In the Hindu account of the deluge, Manu was a rishi or a wise man; and he had seven rishis with him, all men of wisdom and holiness. According to the *Matsya Purâna*, that book was in answer to an inquiry from Manu, and was 'uttered by the deity in the form of a fish.'[2] In the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, where we have the name Satyavrata for Manu, it is stated that 'the divine primeval Male,' or Vishnu, 'in the form of a fish, moving on the vast ocean, declared to him the truth; the celestial collection of Purânas, with the Sānkhya, Yoga, the ceremonial, and the mystery of the soul. Seated on the ship with the rishis, Satyavrata heard the true doctrine of the soul, of the eternal Brahmā, declared by the god. When Brahmā arose at the end of the past dissolution, Hari restored to him the Vedas, after slaying Hayagriva. And King Satyavrata, master of all knowledge, sacred and profane, became by the favour of Vishnu, the son of Vivasat, the Manu in this kalpa.'[3] Here, after the deluge, the hero of it becomes the master of the truth and all knowledge, 'sacred and profane,'—this he receives from a fish, who is a god 'moving on the vast ocean.' Sacred books are also revealed, including the Vedas. In the illustration of the Fish Incarnation, it will be seen

[1] Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 62-3. The word *Sippara* is identified with the Hebrew *Sepher*, book; and would mean 'Book-town.'

[2] Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 207.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 210.

that the human figure has in one of his hands a book which, it may be assumed, is meant for the Veda.[1]

This striking resemblance between the Matsya Avatar and the Oannes legend is too close to have been accidental. There must have been some connection in the origin, and probably an underlying idea may exist to account for this tradition of sacred knowledge and wisdom coming from the sea. A guess is all that can as yet be offered as a solution of this problem. It will be noticed that these traditions are part of a system in which the cosmos is evolved out of water. This broad fact is distinctly enough stated; but at the same time there are traces of it which can only be understood by the symbolism which is implied in this idea. The appearance of the dry land, as described in Genesis, with the sea round it, implies the same arrangement as that described in the shield of Achilles, the outer border of which represented the ocean as surrounding everything. This earth that came out of the sea was Mother Earth, that produces all life; this again was Aphrodite, who came out of the sea, and she had also the attribute given her of being the Mother of every living thing;—it may also be noted in passing that this goddess had a fish legend attached to her history. The deluge again, according to the Hindu account, was a destruction of the world and its re-creation. The ship of Manu, with the seeds of all things in it, floating on the water, was what a Brahman would call a symbol of the 'Female power, or Sacti, of the

[1] Although beyond the geographical limits that have been proposed, I can scarcely refrain here from a reference to the *Eo Feasa*, or 'Salmon of Knowledge' of the Celtic mythology. Whoever ate of this fish, knew all things. See Professor Rhys's *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 553-4.

universe,' which preserved the principle of life, and thus regenerated the world. The same idea may be followed through all these examples. The new birth or creation was thus like the first, it came out of water—a principle which is still declared in the Book of Common Prayer in relation to baptism.' This creative power in nature was looked upon in most of the old systems as one of the highest manifestations of the deity; it was the logos, or divine wisdom; and that wisdom survived the flood through the means of the ship or the fish, the two being merely symbols of the same thing. Thus knowledge, wisdom, and religion, all that was sacred, may have been looked upon as having been preserved, or as having come out of the waters like everything else, as a part of the creation.

As the Brahman at his initiation, sitting on the black antelope skins, received a new and spiritual birth into the divine knowledge of the Veda, so the initiate in the fish-skin would be supposed to receive a new birth into sacred knowledge, which under the circumstances would be assumed to come to him from the water by means of the fish, for he and it, as in Jonah's case, were figuratively in the water. Add to this that these fish-clad persons are priests—that being the important lesson we learn from the sculptures—and being priests, they were teachers. That which they taught was what they were initiated into by means of the fish; and as they as priests officiated with a fish-skin, or an imitation of one, as their sacred vestments, it would appear as if they came out of the sea to instruct people. We thus realise in a very simple way an explanation of what

Berosus has handed down to us: to understand him properly we have only to alter a single word, and instead of ascribing the teaching to the 'god' Oannes, it should be expressed that it was the priests of Oannes that gave the instruction.

The whole story was old when Berosus wrote; that was in the third century B.C., so he only records the tradition as it existed at his time. The organisation, a priesthood or whatever it may have been, had completely disappeared. There were no functionaries robed in fish-skins to be seen when this historian lived. There was only a 'representation' of Oannes that had been preserved: this was no doubt the same figure that we see on the sculptures that explorers have again brought to light in our own day. It may be noted, in passing, that here a slight glimpse is obtained from which we can recognise that an early form of faith with its constituted teachers had existed and had passed away, so that as early as the third century before our era it had become a tradition, and nothing but a few fragmentary traces remained. This ought to be remembered in considering the story of Jonah; so that the date of the Book is no guide to the date of the matter it contains.

This antiquity finds confirmation from another source. Two such authorities as Professor Sayce and M. Lenormant are agreed that Oannes is the same as the God Ea;[1] Professor Sayce suggests that as the name Ea means 'a house,' or 'belonging to a house,' 'possibly his worship goes back to a time when the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf lived

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 133.

in pile-dwellings like those of Switzerland or the British Islands.'[1] This, whether perfectly exact or not, implies at least a very primitive period when Ea was worshipped. He was a pre-Semitic god, and the original seat of his worship was at Eridu, which is supposed to have been at one time on the shore of the Erythræan Sea, and that might account for his title as a God of the Deep. But he was also a god of the rivers. Professor Sayce thus writes of him:—'He was also the culture-god of primitive Babylonia, the god of wisdom, the instructor of his worshippers in art and science. An old Babylonian sermon on the duty of a prince to administer justice impartially and without bribes, declares that if "he speaks according to the injunction [or writing] of the god Ea, the great gods will seat him in wisdom and the knowledge of righteousness." Ea was, moreover, like Oannes, represented as partly man and partly fish.'[2] He was also 'the demiurge Ea.'[3] There is much of this that was taught in ancient Chaldea that corresponds to what the Freemason of the present day is initiated into. The Demiurge is only another form of 'The Great Architect of the Universe.' The resemblance all through these pages is striking. Is 'Masonry' as old as the time when Ea was worshipped at Eridu? I hesitate in answering this question; but it is worthy of consideration.

The connection, or at least the similarity, that appears to exist between the fish Avatar of Vishnu and Oannes, or Ea, being of some importance in relation to the fish-god, it may be further stated that Ea had an ark. Professor Sayce says that

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 134. [2] *Ibid.* p. 133. [3] *Ibid.*

'the "ship" or Ark of Ea in which his image was carried at festivals was entitled "the ship of the divine antelope of the deep."'[1] Again, the same high authority states that 'the gods of Eridu were water-gods, and, like the deities of Egypt, had each his sacred ship. These ships occupied an important place in the Babylonian ritual; they had all special names, and were the visible abodes of the divinities to whom they belonged. Let us listen, for instance, to an old hymn that was recited when a new image of the god was made in honour of "the ship of enthronement," the *papakh* or "Ark" of Merodach:

'"Its helm is of cedar [?] wood. . . .
Its serpent-like oar has a handle of gold.
Its mast is pointed with turquoise.
Seven times seven lions of the field [Eden] occupy its deck.
The god Adar fills its cabin built within.
Its side is of cedar from its forest.
Its awning is the palm [?] wood of Dilvun.
Carrying away [its] heart is the canal.
Making glad its heart is the sunrise.
Its house, its ascent, is a mountain that gives rest to the heart.
The ship of Ea is Destiny.
Nin-gal, the princess [Dav-Kina], is the goddess whose word is life.
Merodach is the god who pronounces the good name.
The goddess who benefits the house, the messenger of Ea the ruler of the earth, even Nan-gar [the lady of work], the bright one, the mighty workwoman of heaven, with pure and blissful hand has uttered the word of life:
'May the ship before thee cross the canal!
May the ship behind thee sail over its mouth!
Within thee may the heart rejoicing make holiday!'"

The hymn was an heirloom from Sumerian Eridu. It had come down from the days when Merodach

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 280. See also Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 160. Mr. Robert Brown, Jun., also points out this connection with the ship in his *Poseidon*, p. 112.

was not as yet the god of Babylon, but was the son of Ea, the water-god of Eridu.'[1]

It has been suggested regarding the black antelope, whose skin, it has been explained, was employed at a Brahmanical initiation, that as that animal was plentiful on the plains of the north-west of India when the Vedic Aryans arrived there, it became associated in their minds with the newly conquered country, and thus acquired a kind of sanctity. This now becomes very doubtful when we find that Ea was called 'the antelope of the deep,' 'the antelope the creator,' 'the antelope the prince,' 'the lusty antelope'; and his ark, as already told, was called 'the ship of the divine antelope of the deep.'[2] If there had been a connection between the early Sumerians and some of the many races in India, of which these pages bear strong evidence, then that would show that the sacredness of the antelope was older than the Aryan invasion of India; and that it was probably a very ancient totem.[3] That the animal was connected with an initiatory rite in India, and also connected with a deity which it has been the purpose of these pages to show was the typical hero of an initiatory rite, is enough for the present purpose.

[1] Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 66-7. [2] *Ibid.* p. 280.

[3] The above had just been written when I came upon the following reference:—'The gazelle was the sun-antelope Dara of the Akkadians, a form of the God Ia, Terah of the Jews, the Son of Nahor, the river [*Nahr*] Euphrates, who led the Semites, as the Sons of Eber and Joktan, or Jokshan, from the land of Armenia, called in Genesis Arpachsad, that is Arpa-Kasidi, the land [*arpa*] of the conquerors [*Kasidi*], to the sea by the Euphrates and Indus.'—*The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, by J. F. Hewitt, vol. ii. p. 329. The god Ia is, I take it, the same as 'Ea,' as Sayce writes it. Lenormant puts it as 'Hea.'

The worship of Dagon brings us to the shores of the Mediterranean. The cult of this god is generally described as being Philistine. This supposition is based upon the recorded existence of celebrated temples of Dagon at Gaza and Ashdod, cities of the Philistines. It has been shown that the worship of the fish-god, Oannes or Ea, goes back to the oldest times in Chaldea, and it would be reasonable to suppose that it was equally old in Syria, where in all probability later forms of faith had superseded the older, and the shrines at Gaza and Ashdod were nearly all that remained as survivals. There are other temples of Dagon mentioned in the Old Testament,[1] and the writer of the article on Beth-Dagon, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, puts it that 'the worship of the Philistine god had spread far beyond the Philistine territory.' There was a fish-goddess at Ascalon, and we may assume that her worship was only a branch of that of the male god; then there was another fish-goddess at Hierapolis, on the extreme north of Syria, and not far from the Euphrates; this brings us near to Nineveh, where the discovered sculptures tell that the fish-god must have had many followers. It looks as if it would be nearer the truth to say that this line from Gaza to Nineveh formed the north-western boundary of the ancient cult. I am aware that the fish of mythology can be traced far beyond the limits here given; but within the space just defined, and extending again south-east to India, as has been already shown, there existed close similarities, which imply a connection

[1] Josh. xv. 41, xix. 27; 1 Chron. x. 10.

of some special kind. The legend that Semiramis—whose name, with that of her husband, is so intimately connected with the foundation of Nineveh—was the daughter of Derceto, the fish-goddess of Ascalon, is in itself strong evidence for the boundary line that has been pointed out, but at the same time it indicates that the worship could not be very different over the same space of ground. Dagon is described as 'an idol of the Philistines worshipped at Gaza and Ashdod (Judg. xvi. 23 *sq.*; 1 Sam. v. 1), having a human head and arms, but the rest of the body like a fish.'[1] That agrees perfectly with Oannes as represented in the sculptures. That the ritual in Chaldea and Syria of the fish-god would not be quite the same, is what may be taken for granted. We know the attributes and worship of a god in these early days often varied in each town, and that we may assume would be the case in this instance. The resemblance in attributes may be inferred from one or two fragments that have come down to us. At Hierapolis and Ascalon there were female forms of the fish-god; now we know from other mythologies that the female duplicate, or partner of a god, was in her attributes generally only a reflex of the male. The goddess at Hierapolis is thus described by Plutarch: —'. . . Some call her Aphrodite, some Here, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of everything that is good.'[2] This

[1] *Heb. Lex.* Gesenius, Dagon. Schrader, in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 170, rejects both of the usual explanations of Dagon; the first from דָּגָן 'corn'; and the other from דָּג 'fish.'

[2] Plutarch's *Lives*, *Crassus*, 17.

might be described as being only a second edition of the character given to Oannes. There is the creation out of moisture or water; the teaching of knowledge, and of all that is good for the human kind. But there is another instructive feature that can be made out: it has been shown that there was a connection between Oannes, and also between the Matsya Avatar of Vishnu and the deluge legend. Now we have a reference that connects at least the temple of the goddess with the flood. Lucian[1] mentions that there was a chasm in the temple, and it was the custom twice a year to bring water from different localities, which was poured into this aperture; and the reason given for this ceremony was, because it was through this chasm the waters of the deluge had been drained away. Standing by itself, this custom at Hierapolis suggests no meaning beyond; but here the value of the comparative system appears: when this is placed beside the data already given, it becomes a link of very considerable importance.

The origin of the Book of Jonah presents a much more difficult question, the latest theory as to its date being that it is post-exilic, this implying that the story was probably brought back to Palestine from Babylon. This may have been the case; but at the time of the captivity, which was only a century or two before the time of Berosus, we may assume that the worship of Oannes or Ea had long become extinct, and that the tradition of it was all that then survived. Now, on the other hand, the temple of Dagon at Ashdod continued down to the period of

[1] *De Syria Dea.*

the Maccabees, when it was destroyed;[1] the temple of Atargatis at Ascalon was also existing at the same time.[2] This might account for Joppa, a neighbouring seaport, figuring in the story; and judging by this, the Book of Jonah was more likely to have originated in the land of the Philistines than in Chaldea. If good reasons exist for the theory that the Book was brought back from the captivity, the continued worship of the fish-god at Gaza and Ashdod would account for its preservation in that region, and even for interpolating Joppa into it, in order to localise the legend. The transference of myths and their localisation in other regions is a process that is not unknown to students.

Whether the long or the short chronology is adopted, there is little doubt but the story is much older than the Book; and if the theory of an initiatory legend is adopted regarding it, a still greater antiquity may perhaps be demanded. The reference in the Talmud to Jonah being under the temple, when he was supposed to be inside the fish—and there is another reference of the same kind in the *Midrash*—would be difficult to explain, unless we accept the supposition that a worship similar to that of Dagon had been common over the most of Syria. That such may have been the case, at some early period, among the Jebusites, Moabites, or Amorites, is not at all improbable, and it may have vanished as completely as that of

[1] 1 *Macc.*, x. pp. 83-4.

[2] 2 *Macc.*, xii. p. 26. This temple, called by Herodotus 'the temple of the Celestial Venus,' is also declared by him, as he found on inquiry, to be 'the most ancient temple dedicated to this goddess.' There was another in Cyprus, but it was later, and had been built by Phœnicians from Philistia.

Oannes in Chaldea. 'The only evidence I can produce that such a worship may have existed is the following:—'That Solomon was a divine name we have the express testimony of the cuneiform inscriptions for asserting; Sallimmanu, "the god of peace," was a god honoured particularly in Assyria; where the name of more than one famous king [Shalman-eser] was compounded with it. As the name of Nineveh was ideographically expressed by a fish within a basin of water, while the name itself was connected in popular etymology with the Assyrian *nunu*, "a fish," it is possible that the cult of Sallimman or Solomon in Assyria was due to the fact that he was a fish god, perhaps Ea himself. In a list of the gods whose images stood in the numerous temples of Assyria,[1] mention is made of "Sallimmanu the fish, the god of the city Temen-Sallim [the foundation of peace]." His worship was carried westward at a comparatively early period, and in the age of Shalmaneser II. the royal scribe at Sadikan, now Arban on the Khabûr, was named Sallimmanu-nunu-sar-ilani—"Solomon the fish is King of the Gods." So, too, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. [B.C. 732], the Moabite king was Salamanu or Solomon, a plain proof both that the god was known in Moab, and also that in Moab, as in Israel, the name of the god could be applied to a man.'[2]

If it should turn out that King Solomon, who is supposed to have built the temple at Jerusalem, is a mythical personage—and a good deal could be produced in favour of the presumption—it would go far to prove,

[1] W. A. I., iii. p. 66, *Rev.* 40.
[2] Professor Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 57-8.

from what Professor Sayce says,[1] that he was a fish-god, 'perhaps Ea himself,' and the above statement alone helps to support the idea; for the professor puts it that the existence of the name 'is a plain proof that the god was known in Moab' as well as 'in Israel.' Let us suppose that Solomon was only named after the fish-god, and we have at least some evidence of the possibility of rites performed that would account for the passage in the Talmud that has been quoted. These may have been gone through somewhere within the temnos of the temple at Jerusalem. There is a vast rock-cut reservoir under the Haram Area, still filled with water, and now known by the Arabic name of Bahr-el-Khebir, or 'the Great Sea,'—the water no doubt was used for necessary ablutions, but it may also have contained fish—sacred fish, such as are found in India. There was also a 'Fish-Gate' in Jerusalem, a name difficult to account for in a city standing on hills, and without either a river or stream.[1] These details may mean nothing, but there is a much wider aspect of the subject, which can only be alluded to here in the briefest manner. Whether Solomon was real or mythical does not affect his typical character. He was the 'Prince of Peace,' and in this character he was a type of the greater 'Prince of Peace.' But the greater Prince of Peace was a Fish—ΙΧΘΥΣ;[2] if

[1] The Fish-Gate was said to be on the west of the town, and was so named because the fish from Jaffa came in by it. See Burchard of Mount Zion, *Pal. Pilgrim Texts*, p. 80. This may be so; but the names of the gates of Jerusalem have been often changed, and now it is difficult to be sure of the exact position of many of the gates, or the explanation given of their names.

[2] "ΙΧΘΥΣ is the mystical name of Christ, because He descended alive into the depths of this mortal life, as into the abyss of waters."—Augustine. 'We are little fishes in Christ our great fish. For we are born in water, and can only be saved by continuing therein.'—Tertullian, *Lib. de Baptis.*, cap. i.

Solomon, the type, was also a fish, it would complete the symbolism in a more perfect manner, and explain many things to us at the same time.

Before coming to a conclusion on the subject of the fish-god, it is almost necessary to say something about the dove, for the word Jonah is at the same time the name of that bird: this association conveyed by the name becomes a very strong evidence of the mythic character of the prophet. The dove as a symbol appears to have been more particularly connected with the creative power when represented as proceeding from water. Only the most notable examples of this need be mentioned. In the Biblical account of the deluge the dove figures prominently. Aphrodite, to whom doves were sacred, came out of the sea; and representations of the goddess are often accompanied by a fish. Ovid describes the origin of the two fishes in the zodiac, and locates the event on the Euphrates, the region where the worship of Oannes had flourished. He says that Dione,—this was the mother of Aphrodite, but it is understood that Venus was meant,—was flying with Cupid from 'frightful Typhon,' came to the Euphrates, which is called 'the river of Palestine,' and, jumping in, two fishes bore them up; and they—the fish—now 'have constellations as the reward of their merit.'[1] But he also describes Venus in another place as having assumed the shape of a fish.[2] The fish, we may say the celestial fish of the zodiac, as well as the dove, thus becomes a type of Venus—the very same combination we have in Jonah. Ovid adds that the 'superstitious Syrians,' owing to the above, do not

[1] *The Fasti*, ii. 460, *sq.*

[2] *Met.* v. 331.

eat fish; if this is correct, it is quite in keeping with what we know to have been the case with other sacred animals.

There is a legend that the pigeons which visitors feed in the Piazza di San Marco at Venice are the descendants of those that at one time belonged to a temple of Venus; and the same legend is current regarding the pigeons that even the non-ritualistic followers of the prophet throw corn to, when they enter one of the mosques of Constantinople. When Dean Stanley visited Ascalon, he wrote that 'the sacred doves of Venus still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls.' This was the Syrian Venus, known also as 'Derceto' and 'Atargatis,' the Fish-goddess, the feminine counterpart of Dagon. Ovid calls her the 'Babylonian Dercetis, whom the people of Palestine believe to inhabit the pools, with thy changed form, scales covering thy limbs.'[1] This, if correct, would make this goddess of Chaldean origin. Lucian also describes a statue of her that he had seen in Phœnicia, and says that the upper part of her body was that of a woman, but from the middle downwards that of a fish. The statue of her at Hierapolis, he says, was represented wholly as a woman; but he also mentions that one of the statues in the same temple was represented with a dove standing upon it. Now this temple at Hierapolis had the tradition attached to it, that it was founded by Semiramis.

The story of Semiramis, as it has come down to us, presents a very good illustration of the combination of

[1] *Met.* iv. 46.

the fish and the dove; but at the same time it shows the changes which have taken place in mythical legends, which apply to the case of Jonah, and at the same time to many similar stories that have survived as veritable history to our own day. Semiramis was said to be the daughter of Derceto, the fish-goddess of Ascalon. Onnes—Lenormant calls him 'Oannes'—evidently the fish-god, but reputed, in the history ascribed to Ctesias, to have been a general or governor of Syria, married her. At the siege of Bactra, which was difficult to take, she there planned an attack, and valiantly led it, so that the city was captured. This brought her under the notice of the king, Ninus, who made her his queen. She is reputed to have built many structures and cities, including Babylon. She erected at Nineveh a tomb for her husband, nine stadia high, and ten in width.[1] This reputation is only a reflex of Oannes, who taught building and architecture. The dove is somehow associated with this celebrated queen as a symbol, and, according to the history, she was miraculously preserved by these birds when a child.

These examples do not go far to show why the dove and the fish were thus linked together in mythology,

[1] Nineveh itself has Ninus as its founder. Not being a philologist, I can only express myself in the interrogative form by asking regarding Professor Sayce's sentence, already quoted, about the Assyrian *nunu*, 'fish,' if that is not the root of the word Ninus? Another passage in the same quotation states that 'the name Nineveh was ideographically expressed by a fish within a basin of water.' This would support the idea that Nineveh merely meant Fish-town, and Ninus was a fish. When Ctesias wrote and mentioned the tomb of Ninus, we may assume that there was some monument existing at the time known by that name: there is still a great mound, called now the 'Nebbi Yunus,' which is reputed to be the tomb of the Prophet Jonah. If both individuals were representatives of the fish, there need be little doubt but the Nebbi Yunus is that which had been known previously as the tomb of Ninus.

but they prove all that is here desired, that the combination existed in a number of very notable instances, and that, too, in the very region where the story of Jonah is found.

Most of the sacred symbols are so old in their origin that little or no explanation of their evolution has come down to us. All that we can do is by careful investigation to collect data, and put them together as best we can. In doing this it is necessary to forget our nineteenth century education, with its more accurate scientific and philosophic teaching, and try to put ourselves in the position of the primitive man, and realise how he looked upon the world that surrounded him. The same process has to be carried on with all the early stages of civilisation. Of course, this means wading through immense quantities of ignorance and superstition. Although this is the case, much of it will be found to be true enough to Nature, and at the same time not without some perception of essential principle. As symbolism could not come into existence without the imaginative or poetic faculty, it presents to us in many cases features that are far from being repulsive, and often we come upon aspects that are attractive from touches of the beautiful that were derived from it. Symbolism might be described as one of the forms of poetry in ancient faiths. Beyond this, again, its study is necessary in order to grasp the first rudiments of knowledge and culture among the races of mankind.

It is now recognised that at some early stage of civilisation certain powers of nature were deified; this must have been a slow operation, and possibly many ages passed while it was taking place. Life

and death appeared as wonderful, as great mysteries; and man naturally feared the one, and desired to hold on to the other. From this clinging to life it is not difficult to understand that whatever appeared to be essential to it would acquire a high importance. Now, water is one of the essentials of life—of both animal and vegetable life. A long drought would force this truth into the mind of the most uncultured or primitive of beings. Without water man, animals, and plants die; hence water was looked upon as the foe of death and the cause of life. Rivers became sacred—the Scamander was 'Jove-born'; the name of the river Brahmaputra has a similar significance, the word means 'Child of Brahma'; and the Ganges, it is believed, was a special gift from heaven. A form of worship, which is well known, still lingers about old wells, and is a survival of the ancient cult that looked upon all sources of water as holy. But the sea was the great reservoir of water: out of it came the life-producing deities, or throned upon it the creative power floated.[1] The fish, the living thing within this

[1] As the fish was shown to exist in the Indian mythology, it may be of interest to show that the idea of creation coming out of water also may be found in the same system. The following is from the *Rig Veda*, x. 129:—'There was then neither non-entity nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor the sky which is above. What enveloped [all]? where, in the receptacle of what [was it hid]? Was it water, the deep abyss? Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That, being One, breathed calmly, in self-dependence: there was nothing different from It [that One] or above it. Darkness existed; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; that One which lay void, and wrapped in a husk [or in nothingness] was developed by the power of fervour. Desire first rose in It, which was the primal germ of mind.'—Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. iv. p. 4. The following is from the *Satapatha Brâhmana*, xi. 1, 6, 1: 'In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, "how can we be reproduced?"' etc.—*Ibid.* p. 25.

life-giving element, naturally became a symbol of its inherent power—a totem, no doubt, at first, which some tribes would eat for its sanctity, and others would not touch for the very same reason. But however rude the conception may have been at first, it developed, and at last a number of deities must have resulted; and some of these became gods of a high type, such as Ea, or Oannes, who taught science and all that was good for man;[1] and Aphrodite, who in some of her aspects is far more than the mere goddess of beauty. There also grew up a large mass of symbolism which was peculiar to this sea or fish-incarnation, and which will require working out in the future with more care and accuracy than has yet been given to it.

There is one aspect of this development which has now been worked out from the cuneiform texts, and as it has an important bearing on the subject dealt with in these pages, it will be best to describe it principally in the words of the well-known scholars who have investigated the subject.

From what Professor Sayce says it would appear that there was more than one religious development that took place in Chaldea. Nothing could be more likely. Racial differences may have been the cause, but it is also possible that these varying developments grew up in course of time out of the local worship of the deity, just as sects have sprung up in later ages. Be that as it may, it appears that the sea became a great abyss out of which everything came. Here is Professor Sayce's description of this:—'Tiamat or Tiavat, the

[1] Professor Sayce gives him the title of 'the god of pure life.'—*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 392.

Thavatth of Bêrôssos, is the *t'hôm* or "deep" of the Old Testament, and the word is used in Assyrian, in the contracted form *tamtu*, to denote "the deep sea." It was upon the face of the *t'hôm* or "deep" that "the breath of Elohim" brooded, according to the first chapter of Genesis. The word is not only Semitic, but, in its cosmological signification, of Semitic origin. It has, however, an Accadian descent. The belief that the watery abyss was the source of all things went back to the worshippers of the sea-god Ea at Eridu. But with them the deep was termed *Apzu*, which a punning etymology afterwards read *ab-zu*, "the house of knowledge," wherein Ea, the god of wisdom, was imagined to dwell. The Sumerian *abzu* was borrowed by the Semites under the form of *apśu*. The Sumerians had endowed it with a spirit, in accordance with the Shamanistic faith of early days, and as such had made it the mother of Ea and of the other gods. But I have already pointed out in a previous lecture that the *abzu*, or deep, of which Ea was lord, was not only the ocean-stream that surrounded the earth, and upon which the earth floated, like Dêlos in Greek myth; it was also the deep which rolled above the firmament of heaven, through whose windows its waters descended in the days of the deluge. Consequently the mother of Ea was usually known by another name than that of Apzu. She was Zikum or Zigarum, "the heaven" [W. A. I., ii. 48, 26; 50, 27], whom a mythological list describes as "the mother that has begotten heaven and earth" [W. A. I., ii. 54, 18]. In the same passage she is declared to be "the handmaid of the spirit of E-kura," the lower firmament or earth; and with this agrees the state-

ment that Zikura, a dialectic form of Zigarum, is the earth itself [W. A. I., ii. 48, 27]. But it was not the existing earth or the existing heaven that was represented by Zikum; she was rather the primordial abyss out of which both earth and heaven were produced.'[1]

In describing the changes and variations that appeared in the ancient Chaldean mythology, Professor Sayce adds:—'But whatever form the old cosmogony may have assumed, the fundamental element in it remained unchanged. The watery abyss was always the primal source of the universe.'[2] The professor then explains how the conception of this abyss changed into two mythic forms, and in one Tiamat became the chief of a number of monsters—'seven evil monsters'; and it was this monster Tiamat that Bel Merodach fought with and conquered, a story that has been found in the cuneiform inscriptions, and we may take it as being a very early version of the St. George and the Dragon class of myths, but perhaps more particularly of the Perseus and Andromeda legend, for it was a sea monster that Perseus encountered at Joppa, where Jonah went on board the ship. It is probable that Leviathan and Behemoth, which have troubled commentators of the old school, are only variants of this fabulous creature; it also agrees perfectly with what Dr. Löwy says regarding at least one notion held by the Hebrews, that Sheol was looked upon as 'a huge and insatiable monster whose belly can never be filled.' To this it may be added, as a speculative suggestion, that the combination of the abyss and the monster, or fish, supplied the abstract ideas under

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 374-5. [2] *Ibid.* p. 376.

which Jonah was initiated. In the poem describing the contest between Bel Merodach and Tiamat, it is said:—

'He strengthened his mind (?), he formed a clever plan,
And he stripped her like a fish of [her] skin according to his plan;
He described her likeness and [with it] overshadowed the heavens;
He stretched out the skin, he kept a watch,
He urged on her waters that were not coming forth;
He lit up the sky, the sanctuary rejoiced,
And he presented himself before the deep the seat of Ea.
Then Bel measured the offspring of the deep,
The mighty master established the Upper Firmament [Ê-Sarra] as his image.
The mighty master caused Anu, Bel [Mul-lil] and Ea
To inhabit the Upper Firmament which he had created, even the heavens their strongholds.'[1]

It will be noticed that the skin here occupies a very prominent place, but it is not quite clear what was done with it. The description that he stretched out the skin and the heavens were overshadowed, would lead one to suppose that it formed the upper firmament for the habitation of the gods. If this is the meaning, then it supports what has been previously suggested, that, according to the ideas of the period, the fish's skin, or even an imitation of it, would be quite sufficient in a dramatic ceremony to represent Sheol or the place of rebirth.

That Tiamat, as *mummu* or 'Chaos,' became Sheol, is clearly enough shown by Professor Sayce, in one form of the development, under the names of Ansar and Kisar, offspring of Tiamat: these came to 'represent the firmament above and the earth below —not only the visible sky and the visible earth, but

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 383.

also the invisible "heaven of Anu" and the underground world of Hades.'[1]

The words in the Book of Jonah which describe the inside of the fish as the 'womb of Sheol' are explicit enough, and it has been shown above that the great abyss under the sea had also the same character, for all creation came out of it; but as the point is of importance in relation to the theory of interpretation here proposed, it may be well to support this with further evidence. A paper on a 'New Version of the Creation Story' was read by Mr. Pinches at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in 1892, in which we find what may be looked upon as another aspect of the same,—it may be here noted that the subject has many aspects, but at the same time there is a link of alliance that connects them all. This new text, Mr. Pinches remarks, agrees well with 'Professor Hommel's building up of the Babylonian universe—the earth (as he says) like a capsised boat floating upon the watery abyss of the under-world (*apzû*, Sum. *abzu* or *zuab*, or chaos).'[2] This abyss is here stated to be the 'under-world,' but the variation in this account is, that it turns out to be paradise, which is only another form of the under-world, or the next-world, as it might be called. 'Beneath the "capsised boat" of Professor Hommel [or rather the "inverted saucer," as Professor Sayce calls it], representing the earth, was, as has been already remarked, the abyss, the abode of the god Aê,[3] and within the abyss the subterranean but divine counterpart of the earthly Eridu, already identified by Sir H. Rawlinson as "the

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 387-8.

[2] *Trans. of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, vol. ii. p. 192.

[3] This means Ea.

blessed city or Paradise." There, too, was the counterpart of Babylon's Ê-sagila, "the house head-lofty," a type of the Tower of Babel, which, as we all know, was to reach heaven itself, thus practically connecting the two divine abodes by means of the *middangeard*, or mid-world, as our Old English forefathers called the earth, because it was between heaven and hell.'[1] Here within this abyss, that contains and produces so much, there was supposed to be, not the earthly Eridu, but its celestial counterpart, a sort of 'Jerusalem the Golden,' which was heaven or paradise. Mr. Pinches states further that:—'This Eridu within the abyss had been founded by the god Lugal-du-azaga. Now Lugal-du-azaga is the first deity mentioned in this text, and his name means "the king of the glorious abode." The character described by *du*, "abode," is that which means, in Semitic historical texts, *tilu*, "mound."' To this may be added what Professor Sayce says regarding the celebrated ruin at Borsippa, the traditional 'Tower of Babylon.' 'It is known as the *tul ellu*, "the pure or holy mound," and one of the titles of Nebo accordingly was "god of the holy mound."'[2] The conclusion this points to is, that the terraced temples of Chaldea and Assyria were originally mounds, most probably the tumuli of tombs, and they became temples as well as sacred and holy mounds. This would grow out of the rites performed at them as places of the dead. The place of the dead was Sheol or Hades—that was in the great abyss. The mound represented the earth, and was perhaps the first origin of the idea that figured

[1] *Trans. of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, vol. ii. p. 193.
[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 113.

the earth as an inverted boat or saucer floating over the abyss. The Holy Mound was a temple, and here we have a possible explanation of the Talmudic tradition, that while Jonah was under the sea, he was under a mountain or mountains, for the so-called Tower of Babel at Borsippa had seven storeys. Of course the Talmudic writer locates the story to Jerusalem. Here it seems, with only our present knowledge, no conclusion can be reached as to whether the ritual belonged to Mesopotamia or Palestine—probably it was common to both. Professor Sayce writes:—'In the legend of the Tower of Babel, reference is made to the "divine king of the holy mound." "The king who comes forth from the holy mound" was one of "three great" or secret "names of Anu," while "the goddess of the holy mound" was Istar.'[1] A god or king coming forth from the holy mound, which was Sheol or Hades, has much in it to suggest a connection with initiatory rites.

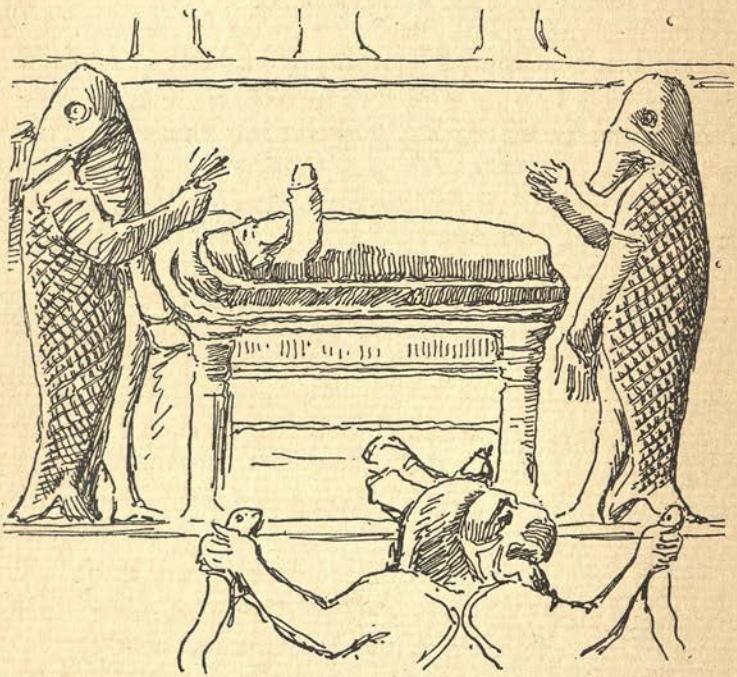
The facts that have been now brought forward appear to be sufficient evidence for the supposition that the fish was in its symbolism connected with the life-giving power of water or moisture.

The dove only remains for a few words to be said as to its symbolism. As the fish represented water, the dove, as a bird, represented air. Air, like water, is one of the essentials of life; without it death is a certainty. Breathing the air is one of the visible signs of life; hence comes the phrase, 'the breath of life': there are the words describing the creation of man, when God 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' The air, or

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 113, Note.

breath, was thus synonymous with the life, the spirit, or the soul. The dove was not sacred on the banks of the Nile, but in Egyptian hieroglyphics it is a bird that represents the soul. In the Christian Church the dove has a very high and significant meaning, in keeping with the symbolism here assigned to it. In Genesis i. 2, the word describing the spirit of Elohim 'moving' on the face of the waters is that which is employed to express the brooding of birds over their young.

If the suggestion of interpretation given in these pages should chance to hold its ground, and turn out to be the true one, it will result that Jonah personified at least two very important principles essentially connected with life, that is, water and air—that connection being neither unscientific nor unphilosophical. Added to this the story becomes reasonable, and quite contrary to a tale that cannot be believed. And further, the Book of Jonah will possess a special value as a record, although slight and fragmentary, from the knowledge it gives us of an Initiatory Rite that was performed at a far-distant date in the past.

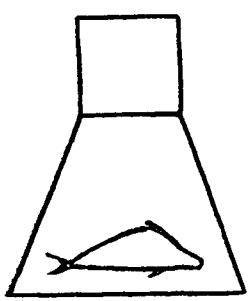


GROUP FROM THE PÉRÉTIÉ PLAQUE

APPENDIX

THE following quotations and notes bear more or less on the subjects dealt with in this work; and they may be found useful for comparison by any one that may chance to devote further study to the inquiry as to the origin and meaning of the Jonah legend. Some of them, it will be seen, are too important to be omitted.

Fish-Town, the name of Nineveh.—In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*[1] there lately appeared an article by the Rev. C. J. Ball, on 'Babylonian Hieroglyphics and their Pictorial Origin.' It begins with '. . . the written symbol denoting Nineveh and its tutelar goddess. In cuneiform this is . . . a compound of . . . *house* and . . . *fish*. In the linear character this ideogram or hieroglyphic, as we may call it, appears thus; which is clearly the outline of a two-storied building, with a fish on the lower floor. With the determinative prefix . . . *city*, the character was read Ni-nu-a and Ni-na-a, *i.e.* Nineveh.' In this the dots represent the cuneiform characters in the original—which I cannot read, and very few can—and they do not appear to affect the meaning of the writer. Further on Mr. Ball adds: '. . . it is surely a fact of capital importance for a right estimate of the character of the Biblical Book of Jonah that the name



The Ideogram or Hieroglyph for NINEVEH. (*Proceed. Soc. Bib. Arch.*)

[1] Vol. xx. pp. 9, 10.

of the city to which the prophet was sent was expressed in writing, from the earliest period, by a combination of the symbols for *house* and *fish*. For this fact at once suggests that the three days' sojourn of Jonah in *the House of the Fish, i.e.* in Nineveh, might be symbolised or Haggadically represented as a three days' abode in the bowels of a "Great Fish"; much as Israel's enforced sojourn in Babylon could be compared with being swallowed up by a dragon [Jer. ii. 34].'

This quotation contains an important confirmation of one of the conclusions I have suggested respecting Jonah. Mr. Ball proposes to adopt an interpretation that the Prophet had not been in the sea at all, but had only been three days in Nineveh. A visit of three days to a great city scarcely in itself accounts for all that is recorded in the second chapter of the Book of Jonah, while the theory I have explained in this work does. The words in that chapter are not mere metaphor like the passage referred to in Jeremiah. If Jonah was not in a ship, nor in the sea, it must be a piece of acting of some kind that is described; let this be granted, and it results that a very essential part of the theory of this work becomes established. The pages of this book were all written before Mr. Ball's article appeared: it is almost necessary to state this, else it might be supposed that it had derived its first starting-point from what he has written. The ideogram or hieroglyph for Nineveh, which it is stated was used in writing 'from the earliest period,' becomes another and a very remarkable confirmation of my words. The ideogram is described as a 'two-storied building,' and it means 'House of the Fish.' In describing what I supposed might have been the ritual based on the Jonah legend, I supposed a building, most probably a temple, such as that of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, with its pit or cave beneath, into which the initiate would be placed for the

three days and nights. That ideogram was used for writing, and might be likened to a 'shorthand' character for the very structure I had imagined. It represents the house with the pit or cave beneath with the fish in it. This may, perhaps, be merely an accidental similarity; but let it be considered in almost any possible way, it presents a very different interpretation of Jonah from that of the literal one which has prevailed up to the present time. The statement of a cuneiform scholar of Mr. Ball's reputation, that the ideogram represented the name Nineveh, is not here questioned; it is only supposed that at the 'earliest period,' whenever that may have been, the figure of the house and pit was the origin from which the word was derived. The association of the tutelar goddess Nînâ as the 'great fish,' which is pointed out by Mr. Ball, would be in perfect keeping with what is here assumed.

But we must not be too sure of Mr. Ball's explanation. In a quotation already given from Professor Sayce, that authority states, 'the name of Nineveh was ideographically expressed by a fish within a basin of water.' Although this at first seems very different, a slight consideration realises that there may be only a slight change in the phraseology, and that the one is only a variant of the other. Still another explanation by a good authority can be produced. Professor Palmer has translated the *Qur'ân* for *The Sacred Books of the East*. The sixty-eighth chapter begins with what the translator calls one of the 'mysterious letters of the Qur'ân.' In this instance it is the letter N, and a footnote is given upon it: 'The Arabic name of the letter nûn signifies both "a fish" and "an inkstand"; the symbol is by some supposed to refer to Jonah, mentioned in verse 48.' That is one of the verses in the same chapter. Now, it will be seen that Mr. Ball's ideogram might possibly be the representation of

an inkstand with a fish as well as that of a two-storied building, or of a fish in a basin of water, according to Professor Sayce. The exact determination of this must be left to the philologists; but if the legend of Jonah had a greater significance in the past than has yet been accorded to it, it need be no surprise if it should be found that the same pictorial hieroglyphic applied equally to the prophet and to the town that was so intimately connected with his cult.

The name of the Fish-God.—'It is possible to trace a resemblance between even the name of Jonah and that of Oannês, especially when we find that the latter name is also written Iannês.[1] It may be that the Hebrew writer identified the Babylonian teacher with the prophet of his own nation. But it is also possible that in the name Jonah we have to see Yavanu, "the Greek." In the time of Sargon [B.C. 711] the Greeks were already so numerous on the coast of Palestine as to permit a "Yavanu," or "Greek," "who had no right to the throne," to become King of Ashdod. When first we hear of Jonah he is making his way to the Phœnician port of Joppa, and his destination is Tarshish in the far West.' The following is a footnote to the above:—

'[1] By Pindar, according to the "Philosophoumena," v. 7, p. 97, ed. Müller. Hyginus ["Fabul." 247] makes it Euahanes, and Helladius [*Ap.* Photium: "Biblioth." 27] Oes.'

'According to Stephanus Byzantinus [s.v. 'Ιόνιον], Gaza was also called Iônê, while the sea between Gaza and the frontier of Egypt was called "Ionian."'[1]

It appears to be fairly evident, even from the collection of data given in these pages, that the cult of the Fish-God dates back to a very early period, that it assumed many various forms, and had reached far greater proportions than we have yet realised. I have given many references to this

[1] *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, p. 489.

particular subject, but they are far from being exhausted. Legends about it appear to have been as prolific as the fish itself is supposed to be; gods and goddesses are associated with tales of the sea and fish-like attributes; many of them had piscine, or partly piscine, forms,—all of them, we may suppose, being survivals of the old original cult. Even the mermaids and mermen, who still belong to the popular imagination of the present day, have been traced back by some authors to the far past. With all this knowledge before us we need not be surprised if Jonah and Oannês should turn out to be the same, or, at least, that there was some close connection between them. It may be mentioned here that Yavana was the word used in India for 'the Greeks'; it was also applied to most of the races to the north-west of India, and is as old as the time of Panini the grammarian, whose date is supposed to be about 400 B.C. A fish avatar in India has already been referred to, along with the probability that it came also into India from the north-west. The Kurma avatar of Vishnu was that of a tortoise at the bottom of the sea, and might be looked upon as another fish incarnation.

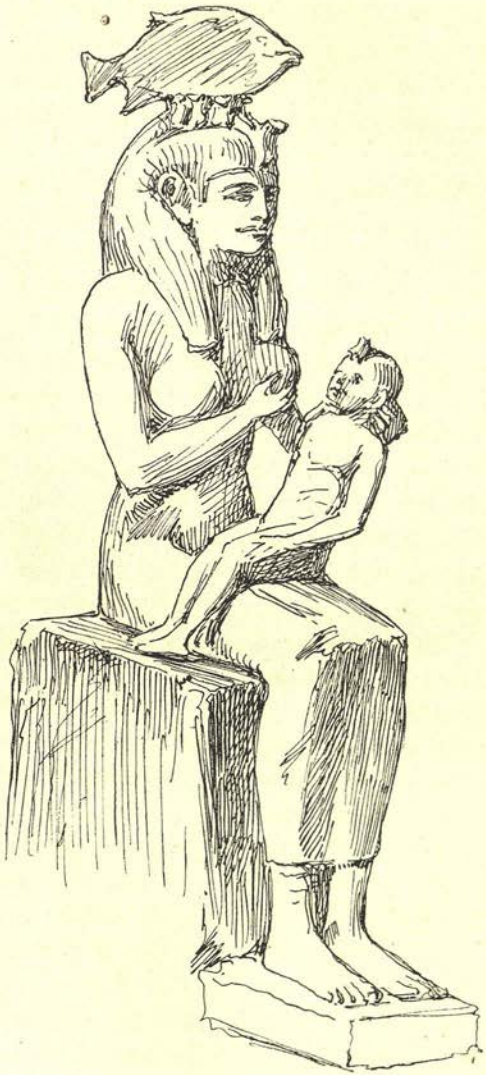
The Syrian Atargatis.—The following is from Simplicius, one of the last of the Neo-Platonic writers of Alexandria:—'The people of the country called the Syrian Atargatis the place or receptacle of the gods; and the Egyptians esteem their Isis in the same light, as containing the identity of each deity.' Atargatis was the female form of the Fish-God in Syria, and this passage seems to endow her with the attributes of all the gods; and in this she ranked with the Egyptian Isis—a strong proof of the high position the fish cult had attained to as far west as the Mediterranean. The words 'place or receptacle of the gods' might be accepted as implying that she typified the principle of rebirth, but the

final sentence scarcely justifies that as the exact meaning. Still, the terms place or receptacle are very curious, and one is inclined to ask why it was that the writer used such a definite phrase if that was not the exact sense he intended to convey?

The Fish Cult in Egypt.—The fish does not figure largely in Egyptian mythology, and yet there are some very significant allusions to it. These allusions might suggest that some early form of fish symbolism had existed, but had become overlaid, and all but overlooked, by other developments, and that only a few surviving fragments chance to remain. The connection of the mythic legends of the Nile valley with that of the Euphrates is a subject that has yet to be worked out. The fish cult was strong in Judea as far as the north-east frontier of Egypt, and it would not be a surprising matter if from that corner some aspects of the cult had extended into the land of the Pharaohs.

There were sacred fish in Egypt. The most noted were the Oxyrhynchus, the Phagrus, and the Lepidotus; these, according to Plutarch, were not eaten because they had swallowed that part of the body of Osiris that Isis had been unable to recover. Wilkinson states that models of the Oxyrhynchus with the horns and globe of Hathor have been found, and he assumes that it was her emblem. Hathor was *Het-heru*, the 'House of Horus'; she 'was the goddess of the sky wherein Horus the sun-god rose and set. . . . The Greeks identified her with their own Aphrodite.'[1] Aphrodite, it has been shown, was also connected with the fish cultus. Hathor, the Sky, or Heaven, as the 'House of Horus,' would be in perfect keeping with the solar symbolism; but, according to Wiedmann, there was 'another goddess bearing the same name, and entitled Lady of the

[1] *The Papyrus of Ani*, by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, pp. cxix.-cxx.



ISIS AND HORUS

(From a Bronze Statue in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool).

underworld.'[1] If the fish represented this personification, then it would be the same as Jonah's fish, which, as we have seen, typified Sheol, or the underworld. The story of the fish having swallowed a particular part of the body of Osiris becomes an interesting problem when analysed. The dismemberment of the god being a pure myth, the part of it which includes the fish must be equally mythic. If so, what does it mean? It was that part which Isis did not recover, that she made some kind of image of, and which, as Plutarch states, was 'worshipped and carried about in their processions, like as in the Grecian phallephoria.' From this it is evident that the fish was connected with some kind of phallic worship, or at least associated with its origin. It is the great prolific power of the fish that is given in explanation of the worship of Dagon and other piscine deities. If the fish swallowed the essential part of a man which is indicated by the myth, then it would represent that combination of male and female powers which any one who has studied the Brahmanic symbolism is familiar with. Jonah's fish typified the female power: this is distinctively enough implied by the word 'Womb,' as the place or receptacle where the prophet was during the three days and nights. It was from that womb he came forth, and consequently had gone through the symbolism of a rebirth.

The question here presents itself as to whether the Egyptian ideas admitted any of this symbolism of rebirth. One purpose of this work has been to show that ceremonies in which people were born again were practised at a far-back

[2] *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 143. 'The Goddess of the West.' . . . 'Her office is evidently connected with the dead, as is that of Athor, when she assumes these attributes; probably in consequence of the Western District or Mountain, particularly at Thebes and Memphis, being looked upon as the abode of the dead.'—*The Ancient Egyptians*, by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 50.

period, and are still to be found among races that are yet in a primitive condition; to this may be added that these ceremonies, or survivals of them, can be traced down to our own times. With these facts, which are widely extended, in a geographic and chronologic sense, it would be strange if no vestige of them could be found in the valley of the Nile.

It has to be understood that in the *Book of the Dead* the good Egyptian when he dies becomes the same as Osiris; he is called by that name: like the god, he is a mummy; and, whatever the ceremony may be, he is supposed to be going through that which the god had performed. Here is a passage from the *Book of the Dead* which illustrates this, and from which it will be seen that the rebirth idea was assumed to be gone through: 'I am Osiris, the first-born of the divine womb, the first-born of the gods, and the heir of my father Osiris-Seb.'[1] In the same chapter the idea is repeated: 'I have become mighty, and I have become a divine being by the side of the birth-chamber of Osiris; I am brought forth with him, I renew my youth.'

Abydos was supposed to be the burial-place of Osiris, or from which he passed on to Amentia. There was a gap in the hills on the west of the town, where the sun seemed to sink into the west, and there it was believed was the gate or passage to the underworld. The gate or passage of the dead was, of course, beneath, and was known as 'Re-stau'; it was here that the rebirth took place. One chapter of the *Book of the Dead* begins with the words, 'I am he who was born in Restau.'[2] Renouf describes Restau as 'one of the gates between the Nether world and Heaven.'[3] Somewhere in or

[1] *The Book of the Dead*, chap. lxix., by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge.
[2] Chap. cxviii., Renouf's translation.
[3] *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, vol. xvii. p. 123.

near Restau there was a place or chamber called 'Meskhen,' which Birch in his *Hieroglyphic Dictionary* defines as the 'Place of New Birth'; it is also described as 'purgatory,' as a 'place of scourging,' and also as a 'place of purification.' Most probably it was all these, but the word Meskhen is evidently derived from a root meaning 'birth,' for there was a goddess named 'Meskhenet,' who was the goddess of birth. Dr. Budge describes her as 'presiding over the birth-chamber';[1] to this he adds in a footnote: 'Four goddesses bore the name of Meskhen, and they were supposed to assist the resurrection of Osiris.' The Osiris in this case would be the dead Egyptian, whose life had been so free from wrong-doings that he could be purified, and, being reborn, could pass on to the Elysian fields of Egyptian belief.

In this we have, although in a changed form, exactly the 'Womb of Sheol' of the Jonah legend. Jonah was at 'the bottoms of the mountains,' and a Talmudic authority says that he was 'under the temple of the Lord.' Abydos was looked upon as the burial-place of Osiris, and Restau, with its Meskhen, was somewhere underneath. Now there is a fish mentioned several times in the *Book of the Dead* called the 'Abtu Fish.'[2] Abydos was the Greek form of the name of the town; in hieroglyphics it was 'Abtu,' the same name as the fish. This naturally suggests that Abydos was, like Nineveh, another 'Fish Town,' but this, as yet, cannot be affirmed positively. I have the opinion of a good authority on this point, and he says: 'It is possible that the town Abtu and the fish Abtu had the same name given them on account of some fancied resemblance, but I should not like to say

[1] *Papyrus of Ani*, p. 256.

[2] Renouf thinks that the Abtu fish was the tortoise; see *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. xiv. p. 359. This, I understand, is not quite accepted by Egyptologists; but the point is not important, as a tortoise would still be a 'fish.' The Kurma avatar of Vishnu was a tortoise.

that the names are the same.' This means that the names are the same, but it is doubtful if they had both originally the same signification. It may be concluded that if a reason could be found for calling the town Fish Town, the complete identity would be accepted.

The readers of hieroglyphics may yet find some inscription that may settle the matter; all that can be done at present is to give a suggestion that may help to confirm the idea that Abydos was named from the fish. It was a fish that swallowed the very important part of Osiris that could not be recovered. The fish thus became sacred, and could not be eaten. It had by this means acquired that combination of symbolism which represented the principle of rebirth. On the other hand, Abydos, which in a general sense was looked upon as the tomb or burial-place of Osiris, was the gate or passage to the next world, with its Meskhen, or place of rebirth, thus typified the same symbolism.[1] This would be sufficient to explain why the town and the fish had the same name; at the same time it would be in perfect keeping with ancient ideas. But as yet it can only be looked upon as a suggestion; it will be necessary to show that Abtu was the name of one of the fishes that have been referred to before a certainty can be declared. It may be supposed that other fish may have also been credited with absorbing the portion of Osiris; this is quite possible, for the fish cult in Egypt appears to have been an early one, and only a few fragmentary survivals of it are all that can be now found.

The following remarks by Professor Wiedmann will con-

[1] The following from the *Papyrus of Ani*, by Dr. Budge, p. 278, will show how complete was the idea of rebirth in connection with Abydos. It is a description of one of the plates in the papyrus:—'A funeral chest, from which emerge the head of Rā, and his two arms and hands, each holding the emblem of life. The chest, which is called *Aat Abtu*, "the district of Abydos," or the "burial-place of the East," has upon its side figures of the four children of Horus, who protect the intestines of Osiris, or the deceased.'

firm what is here stated. He writes:—'It is more difficult to ascribe the fish to a determined divinity, the cult of the fish being very insignificant in later times. But this was not always the case, as is shown by a series of remarks dispersed through the religious texts. Thus in a passage of the *Book of the Dead*, very often referred to in ancient times (chap. xv. l. 24, *sq.*),[1] great importance is accorded to the perceiving of the fishes *ànt* and *àbd*, the fishes here being in relation with the sun-god Rā, while other texts point to a relation of the fish with Horus.'[2] Here, as connected with these statements, it may be mentioned that Osiris was also the sun, and that Osiris in Amentia was the sun in the nether world. It might be said that these three deities were transmutable, most of their attributes were the same; and it may be accepted that what Egyptian mythology records as having occurred to one may be supposed to have taken place with the others.

It was necessary to understand the above before giving the following fragmentary survival of the old fish cult. In the one hundred and thirteenth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* a reference is made to the 'Mystery of Nechen'; the mystery is connected with two fish that the mother of Horus orders to be caught by Sebak, 'the Lord of the Marches': the fish were caught in a net, and they turned out to be either the arms of Horus, or the arms were in the fish. The 'Mystery' seems to have been the recovery of the two limbs of Horus. Renouf gives the following comment on this:—'This legend of Nechen is connected with that of the dismemberment of Horus, of which we have but very scanty information. It must have been like a repetition of what had happened to his father Osiris. The limbs of Horus had

[1] This passage, as translated by Renouf, is: 'See the Ant fish in its birth from the emerald stream, and see the Abtu fish and its rotations.'

[2] *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. xx. pp. 107-8.

been thrown into the water, and when Sebak threw his net, at the prayer of Isis, he brought up two fishes, into which the arms of Horus had been turned. Reminiscences of this story are preserved in the names of several localities. "Two Fish" is the name of the *Mer* of the second Northern Nome, and of the *pehu* of the seventeenth Southern Nome; just as "Two Eyes" is the name of the *pehu* of the eleventh Northern Nome. The latter name may perhaps have reference to Osiris, but the same stories were probably told of both divinities.'[1]

'The same stories were probably told of both divinities': this means that it may have been accepted in Egypt that Osiris, who, it is fully recognised, had been restored by Isis, and reborn again, was swallowed by a fish or fishes, and that the dismembered limbs had been again found. It matters little for the present purpose whether this took place with Osiris or Horus, the legend seems to be little else than that of Jonah.

Isis has been identified with Aphrodite; both were types of the procreative power, or what the Brahmans define as the female Sacti. Aphrodite had the dolphin as one of her emblems, and a bronze statue of Isis suckling Horus, in the Mayer Museum of Liverpool, shows the goddess crowned with a large fish. Atargatis, the Syrian Aphrodite, also a fish form of the female principle, the 'place or receptacle of the gods,' must have had her worship carried into Egypt at some early date, and her fish attributes must have been transferred to Isis; the rebirth attribute of the fish cult was peculiarly suited for the Osirian ritual of the dead, into which it would be easily adopted. This would be at some remote date, and the ideas connected with it have been partly forgotten or superseded, so that very few vestiges of it are now to be

[1] *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. xvii. p. 11.

found. It would be satisfactory if a few more could be discovered, so that our conclusions could be made to rest on a wider basis.

The Fish Cult in Greece.—The guess running through these notes is that the legend of Oannes points to Chaldea; or, to use a broader phrase, that the Euphrates Valley was the original birthplace of this Fish-Worship; and that it came west to the Mediterranean, and left an influence in Egypt. At the same time it found its way into the islands of the Mediterranean and on to Greece, where it pervaded the mythology of that country. An instance or two will now be given to show that this was the case.

The legend of Proteus ought not to be overlooked, as it helps to confirm the existence of the fish cult in Egypt. Proteus, although much altered, is evidently a variant of Oannes. Homer calls him 'Proteus the Egyptian,' thus indicating a belief that he belonged to that people, and supplying a side light in favour of what has already been said on this subject. Each day he appeared out of the ocean at midday, and counted his sea-calves; Homer adds that he was a 'true old man of the sea'; he was a prophet, and Ulysses consulted him in that character.[1] Virgil describes him as the prophet that 'knows all things that are, that have been, and what is being drawn on as about to be.'[2] With these attributes it would be difficult to doubt that this was Oannes only slightly metamorphosed by his transfer to the mouths of the Nile.

The story of Arion, as told by Herodotus,[3] is so like that of Jonah that it may be taken as only another version of the same tale. He was a celebrated musician, and has the reputation of having invented the dithyrambus; he had won the prize at a musical contest in Sicily, and was returning to

[1] *Odyssey*, iv. 385. [2] *Georgics*, iv. 392. [3] *Herodotus*, i. 24.

Corinth in a ship; he had with him all the valuable things he had received as the result of his success; these excited the cupidity of the sailors, and they told him either to kill himself and be buried on the shore, or to leap into the sea. He was allowed to put on his festal garments, and taking his harp he went through the Orthian strain, and invoked the gods; after which he threw himself into the water, but a dolphin received him on its back, and carried him to Tænarus where he related what had taken place. Periander, who was then king, doubted the story, but waited till the ship arrived, when the sailors said they had left Arion at Tarentum. The poet was brought before them dressed as he had jumped into the sea; they were then convicted and punished. Herodotus mentions that at Tænarus there was a brazen statue of Arion representing him sitting on a dolphin. Pausanias, writing in the second century A.D., mentions the existence of this statue.[1]

If this story is only an echo of that of Jonah, the external features only have been followed; the details which entitle the one to be classed as an initiatory legend are entirely wanting in the other; and if the suggested theory of these pages should be ultimately accepted, this tale of Arion will present itself as a good example of a ceremony at another date and locality being told as that of an event which had taken place.

The story of the beginning of the worship of Apollo at Delphi, as told in what is known as the Homeric hymn to that god, has many features which recall the Jonah legend. Of course there are many marked points of difference, but that is exactly what is found in other instances where there is no doubt as to identity: even the attributes of the same god differ in temples that are not far distant from each

[1] *Pausanias*, iii. 25, 7.

other, and legends that are orally repeated are more liable in time to change than the ritual of worship. Such questions of identity, however, must be left to the judgment of each individual. According to the author of the Homeric hymn, Apollo, after the temple at Delphi had been erected, 'bethought him in mind, what men he should lead in as ministers of his rites, who do him service in rocky Pytho.'[1] The worship is supposed to have been brought from Crete, for Apollo at that place appeared as a dolphin and leaped on board a ship, where he lay a 'mighty and dreadful monster.' The crew seem to have been so frightened that they did nothing, but the god prevailed on the winds, and directed the ship till it reached the Bay of Crissa—that is the part of the sea nearest to Delphi. Here the god left the ship, and 'went into his recess through the high-valued tripods,'—that evidently means the hole or cleft in the temple from which the inspiring fumes were said to come. A flame and bright light then shone over the whole place, after which he came back to the ship, 'likened unto a youthful and vigorous man just reached puberty.' He then appointed the crew to be the guardians of his temple—by this it is generally understood that they became his priests—and the god ordered that he was to be worshipped under the title of Delphinius, because he had appeared to them in the form of a dolphin.

Such are the leading facts of the story, and its points of difference from the Oannes-Jonah legend are palpable enough; but read with the theory of this work as a guide, some of the details might possibly be derived from the Euphratean origin. The fish, 'a mighty and dreadful monster,' comes out of the sea and appears among men. There is the ship, and the sailors turn out to be priests,—

[1] *Homeric hymn*, 390.

the theory of these pages is that the sailors in Jonah's case were priests, or at least celebrants at a ritual. The fish descending into 'his recess,' or cave of some kind under the temple, and a brilliant light being produced, from which he issued again as a youthful and vigorous man, might well be the part of some initiatory ceremony. Add to this that if the name Delphi is derived from dolphin, a point which, although assumed by some, is, I believe, not quite settled by philologists, then, like Nineveh, it would be another 'Fish Town.' Some connect the name with Δελφίς, 'a womb'; if that holds good, then the cave under the temple might be another 'Womb of Sheol.' It need scarcely be pointed out that this is merely speculative, and is not to be considered in any other light.

The Skins of Animals as Vestments.—The skins of totems were often worn by the kin to whom the totem belonged. This might possibly be not only an early form of the practice, but at the same time its origin.

Of the Great Mother Goddess of Asia Minor, Cybele, Leto, or Artemis, and the worship belonging to her, Professor E. Curtius says:—'The spirit of this naturalistic cultus leads the servants of the goddess, while engaged in her worship, to transform themselves into the semblance of her holy animals —stag, cow, or boars, or of plants which stand in relation to her worship.'

Plutarch states—*Is.* and *Os.*—that the priests in the service of Osiris 'hang about them the skin of hinds.' This he identifies as being the same as that which is done in the worship of Dionysos. Possibly the panther skin of the Sem priest has been here mistaken for that of a hind's skin.

At the yearly festival of Ammon at Thebes, where the ram was the sacred animal, one was killed every year on the festival of Ammon, who was of course Rā, and his image was clothed with the skin. Dr. Frazer mentions this in *The*

Golden Bough, where much will be found on this subject of skins as well as other relics of sacred animals.

Many other examples of this kind could be produced, but I shall only refer to one more; yet it is an important one from its bearing on the subject. Professor E. Lefébure, in an article on 'L'Office des Morts à Abydos,'[1] deals with the subject of skins and their use as repositories of the dead; in this sense he speaks of them as coffins or 'linceuls,' or shrouds; and the article adds to what has already been written about Abydos and its Meskhen. More than one kind of skin seems to have been employed in this manner, of which the writer gives instances.[2] A phrase was used such as, 'Être sous le cuir, c'était être mort,' and 'métaphoriquement la tombe fut aussi la peau.' The name he gives to the skin is 'Mesek'; this word he says 'se ramène toujours à son sens primitif de *peau*,' and he gives a reference to Brugsch as his authority. This word turns out to be only another form of the word *Meskhen*, already given in reference to Abydos; Lefébure also uses the word 'Mesekt' to express the nether world—words all based on the root for 'birth.' The article is of some length, but the concluding paragraph contains what is sufficient to illustrate the general meaning:—'Le *mesek*, d'abord simple linceul ou dais de cuir, était donc devenu la *Mesekt* ou l'enfer, c'est-à-dire la contrée de la peau du taureau typhonien où s'engloutissaient les dieux comme les mânes, et qui passait pour une gorge montagneuse, un chemin, une île, un endroit de supplice, un ciel, ou, d'une manière plus générale, un lieu. Traverser cette peau ou cette région, c'était se purifier pour passer, par la mort, d'une vie ancienne à une vie nouvelle. Ainsi avait fait Osiris, et

[1] *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. xv. p. 433.

[2] Skins are still used in some parts of Africa, including Abyssinia, in wrapping up the dead.

ainsi faisaient par procuration à Abydos les grands personnages, qui s'identifiaient de la sorte avec le dieu.' This was to be born again through the *Mesek*, or *Meskhent*, and that place was thus another form of the 'Womb of Sheol.'

Muhammadan Tradition.—The following may be worth adding here, as it shows that the fish legend had continued among the Semites down to the time of Muhammad. El-Mas'údi's *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* dates from the tenth century. According to this authority,—'The learned Moslims, of all sects, agree that God, the Almighty, created the universe without model, and from nothing. The first thing created, according to a tradition based on the authority of Ibn-el-'Abbás and others, was water; upon it was the throne of God, and when God intended to accomplish the work of creation, he produced smoke from the water, which rose over it, and he called it *heaven*. He made the water dry, and changed it into one earth, then he divided it into seven earths. This was done in two days, on Sunday and Monday. He created the earth upon a fish which is mentioned in the Korán, in the Surah, "Nun" "by the reed [pen] and what they write, and by the FISH."[1] This is from Sprenger's translation, and the capital letters are his. The Surah mentioned here is the 68th, and has been previously referred to in connection with the 'fish' and the 'inkstand.'

In a note the translator says in relation to the fish that it 'is named *Bahmút* or *Hamút*.' It has already been pointed out in these pages that the fish-god, or goddess, had possibly, in one of its developments, become the Behemoth and Leviathan of Scripture, creatures about which much speculation has been given. This Muhammadan tradition with the

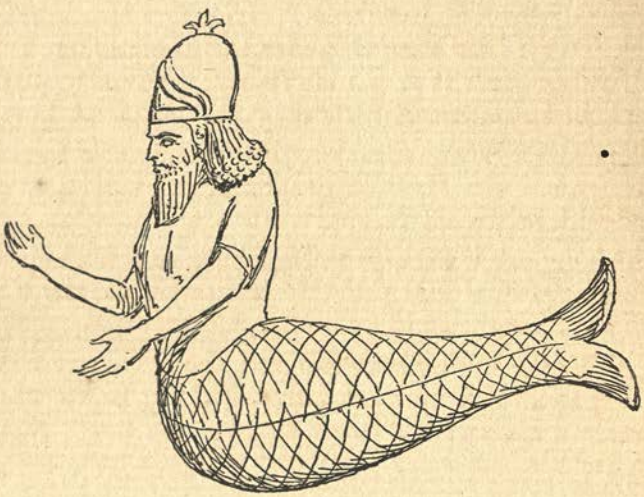
[1] Chap. III.

name attached to it goes so far to support what has been written.

Jonah 'Under the Temple of the Lord.'—This peculiar phrase has been already referred to. In writing to a friend, who has been many years in Jerusalem and much in contact with the Jews, his answer contained the following:—'It is indeed very familiar to me,—namely, that which speaks of Jonah having been carried under the Temple.' It is certainly very curious that, if such rites were carried on at the Temple in Jerusalem, so little should be known about them. Perhaps the connection may have been only of a legendary character, like the Masonic ritual which is so closely associated with Solomon's Temple.

The following is perhaps worth adding as a wind up:—'A tradition, Oriental and probably Mohammedan, has it that there will be admitted into paradise, Jonah's whale, Solomon's ant, Ishmael's ram, Abraham's calf, the Queen of Sheba's ass, the prophet Salech's camel, Moses' ox, Belkis' cuckoo, Mahomet's ass, and the dog Kratim of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.'[1]

[1] *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring Gould, p. 103.



THE FISH-GOD KHORSABAD
(LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*).

INDEX

Aat-Abtu, the district of Abydos, 166.
Abtu, 165.
Abtu Fish, 165, 167.
Abydos, 164, 165, 166, 173, 174.
Abyss, the Great, 22, 121.
Abyssinia, emperors of, 93.
Ab-zu, 22, 149.
Accadian, 22, 25, 149.
Achilles, shield of, 131.
Adam, 99, 113.
Adar, 135.
Adonis, 81, 82, 88.
Aê, 152.
Æneas, descent into infernal regions, 70.
African rites, 43.
Agnes, St., Nuns of, 114.
Agni Purâna, 127.
Al-Sirat, the bridge, 22.
Amenti, 36, 74, 164, 167.
Amorites, 140.
Andromeda, 150.
Andy, Dr. S. Pulney, 118.
Ansar, 151.
Anstis, John, 111.
Anu, 82, 151, 152, 154.
Aphrodite, 131, 138, 143, 148, 162, 168.
Apollo, 171.
Apollodorus, 128.
Apuleius, 29, 63, 70.
Apzu, 149.
Arban, 141.
Arion, 169, 170.
Ark of Ea, 135; of Merodach, 135.
Artemis, 172.
Ascalon, 137, 140, 144, 145.
Ashdod, 137-140, 160.
Assyria, 141, 153.
Assyrian Dagon, 110, 112.
Atargatis, 144, 161, 168.
Atharva-Veda, 125.
Augustine, 142.
A'zrayil, 84.

Babel, tower of, 153, 154.
Babylon, 105, 127, 130, 136, 139, 145, 153.
Bactra, 145.
Bahmut, or Behemoth, 174.
Bahr-el-Khebir, the 'Great Sea,' 142.
Baitu-l-Mukaddas, the 'Holy House,' 103.
Ball, Rev. C. J., 157, 158, 159.
Baptism, 90, 107.
Bastian, A., 42.
Bath, Knights of, 92.
Bayt-el-Maamur, 101.
Behemoth, 150, 174.
Bel, 82; Bel-Merodach, 150, 151.
Benedictine, profession of, 91.
Berosus, 88, 127, 128, 129, 133, 139, 149.
Beyrout, 120.
Bhâgavata Purâna, 126, 127, 130.
Bîr Arwâh, 'Well of Souls,' 102.
Birch, Dr., 74, 165.
Boat of the Sun, 75.
Bonomis, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 109.
Bonpa religion of Tibet, 33.
Book of the Dead, 72, 74-77, 164, 167.
Borsippa, 154.
Boulduc, 86.
Brahmâ, 130, 147.
Brahmanical Initiation, 57, 95, 117.

Brahmaputra, 147.
Brown, Jun., Robert, 135.
Budge, Dr. E. A. Wallis, 164, 165, 166.
Burchard, 142.
Butler, Alfred J., 104.

Caaba, 101.
Casa Santa, Loretto, 9.
Catacombs, 108.
Catlin, 31.
Cave of Souls, 103.
Cecrops, 70.
Ceres, 31.
Chaldean, 22, 121; Chaldea, 127, 129, 138, 140, 141, 144, 148, 153.
Circumcision, 72, 78 *note*.
Clement of Alexandria, 26.
Conder, Colonel, 120, 121.
Coptic Churches and Altars in Egypt, 104.
Cora, 28.
Corinth, 170.
Corinthians, 34.
Covenant of Abraham, 83, 94.
Ctesias, 145.
Curtius, Professor E., 172.
Cush, 114.
Cybele, 172.
Cyprian Sacrifice, 112.
Cyprus, 140.

Dag, a fish, 100.
Dagon, the Fish-God, 110, 137, 139, 140, 144.
Danaus, the daughters of, 79.
Darmesteter, Professor, 60.
Davids, Professor Rhys, 124.
Dav-Kina, 135.
Δελφίς, 172.
Delos, 79, 149.
Delphi, 15, 170, 171, 172.
Demeter, 69.
—— mysteries of, 62.
Dercetis, 144.
Derceto, the Babylonian, 144, 145.
—— the Fish-Goddess of Ascalon, 138.
Descent to Hades, The, 70.
Didron, 108.
Dilvun, 135.
Diodorus, 79.
Dione, 143.
Dionysus, 27, 69, 76, 172.
—— as Zagreus, 69.
Dome of the Rock, 102.
Dumu-zi, 25.
Du-zi, same as Tammuz, 88.
Dvi-ja, 'Twice Born,' 57, 118.

Ea, 22, 25, 82; the god, 133; a house, 133, 134, 139, 141, 142, 148, 149, 151.
Eben Shetiyeh, the 'World's Foundation Stone,' 102.
Ebionites, 83.
Eden, 135.
Edris, the same as Enoch, 84.
Egypt, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 104, 115, 160, 162, 166, 168.
Egyptians, 107.
Ekhnûh, same as Enoch, 85.
E-kura, 149.
Eleusinian Mysteries, 28, 60, 62, 65.
Elijah, 85, 89, 97.
—— and Elisha, known as 'Sons of the Chariot,' 87.
Elisha, 86, 87, 89.
Elohim, 149.
Enoch, the name means 'initiated,' or 'initiating,'83; his 'translation' a possible Legend of Initiation, 84, 114.
Enoch, the same as Edris, 84.
Eo Feasa, or 'Salmon of Knowledge,' 131.
Eridu, 134, 136, 149, 152, 153.
Eros, 125.
Erythræan Sea, 127, 128, 134.
Ê-Sagila, 153.
Ê-Sarra, 151.
Essenes, 83, 110.
Euahanes, 160.
Euphrates, 137, 143.
Euripedes, 69.
Eurydice, 69.

Euxine, 8.
Exodus, 19, 23.

Fergusson, James, 102.
Fish-Gate at Jerusalem, 142.
Fish-God, 109, 111, 123, 127, 138, 160, 161.
Fish-Town, 157, 165, 166, 172.
Frazer, J. G., 9, 38, 39, 46, 172.

Ganges, origin of, 16, 126, 147.
Ganneau, M. Clermont, 120.
Gaza, 137, 138, 140, 160.
Gesenius, 99, 138.
Gibbon, 110.
Gladstone, W. E., 91, 106.
Golden Ass of Apuleius, 29.
Golden Bough, The, 34, 38, 39.
Gorham Case, 106.
Gould, Rev. S. Baring, 175.
Greece, 169.
Greek Drama, 27.
Greek Mysteries, 80.

Haaman-Ibn-Ata, 103.
Ham, 114.
Hama, 120.
Hari, 130.
Hartland, E. S., *The Legend of Perseus*, 115.
Hasisadras, the Chaldean Noah, 88.
Hathor, 162.
Helladius, 111.
Herakles, 70.
Here, 138.
Hermes, 85.
Herodotus, 72, 74, 78, 79, 140, 169.
Hesiod, 65, 125.
Het-heru, the 'House of Horus,' 162.
Hewitt, J. F., 118.
Hierapolis, 112, 137, 138, 139, 144.
Himalayas, 126.
Holy Sepulchre, 101.
Homer, 65, 70, 169.
Hommel, Professor, 152.
Hooker, 3.
Horus, 115, 166, 167.
House of the Fish—i.e. Nineveh, 158.

Iannês, 160.
India, 123, 126, 136, 142.
Initiation of an Augur, 82.
Initiatory Rites.—Of the Ualaroi of the Upper Darling River, 40; Fijian lads, 40; the 'Ndembo' rites on the Congo, 41; in Ambamba, 42; in Quoja, north of the Congo, 43; the Huskanaw rite in Virginia, 45; the Naudowessies, 46; Indians of Nootka Sound, 47; Jossakied, Meda, and Wabeno, 49; Areoi of Tahiti, 49; Island of Rook, east of New Guinea, 49; the Galela and Tobelorese of Halmahera, an island east of New Guinea, 51; the Kakian Association, 52; in the Pacific Isles, 55; Brahmanic Initiation, 57; Zoroastrian, 58; Eleusinian, 60; Apuleius, *Golden Ass*, 63; Characteristics of Initiation, 66-7; Circumcision, 72-3; Chaldean, 82; Initiation in Christian Church, 89-92; Knights of the Bath, 92-3.
Investiture, a part of initiation, 110.
Isis, 161, 168.
Israel, 141, 142.
Istar, descent into Hades, 81, 88, 154.
IXΘΥΣ, 142.

Jalal-Addin, 102, 103.
Jarayu, or afterbirth, 118.
Jebrail, 89.
Jeremiah, 158.
Jerusalem, 141, 142, 154, 158.
Joash, king, 87.
John the Baptist, 83, 92.
Jonah, 97; a 'Widow's Son,' 85; in the 'Womb of Sheol,' 99, 100; at the bottom of the mountains, 100, 101, 175; 'under the Temple of the Lord,' 101; 'in the Belly of the Fish,' 110; prayed in fish, 117.
Joppa, 140, 150, 160.
Jordan, 22.
Josephus, 83.
Juneoo, the Brahmanical cord, 57.

KABBAT as Sakhrah, 103.
Kama, or Kama-Deva, the Hindu Eros, 124, 125.
Kassa, Prince of Tigre, 93.
Khabûr, 141.
Khalid-Ibn-Moad, 103.
Khunûth, same as Enoch, 35.
Kinvad, the bridge, 22.
Kisar, 151.
Knights of the Bath, 92, 110.
Kusti, or Zoroastrian thread girdle, 58, 59.

LAMAS of Tibet, 32.
Lane, 104.
Lane's Koran, 103.
Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 109.
Lefébure, Professor E., 173.
Lenormant, 111, 133, 135, 145.
Lepidotus, 162.
Leto, 172.
Leviathan, 150, 174.
Logos, 124.
Loretto, 9.
Löwy, Dr., 99, 103, 150.
Lucian, 139, 144.
Lugal-du-azaga, 153.

MACCABEES, 140.
Mahabharata, 126, 127.
Makara, or Fish, 125.
Manaf, 85.
Mandan Indians, 31.
Manu, 126, 127, 130.
Manwantaras, 127.
Mariandynians, 14.
Mas'údi, 174.
Matsya Avatar, 125, 126, 130, 131, 139.
Matsya Purâna, 127.
Medeenet Haboo, 116.
Mediterranean, 123, 137.
Mekka, 19, 22, 101, 104.
Melanesia, 78.
Memphis, 85, 163.
Merodach, 135, 150.
Mesek, 173, 174.
Meshken, or 'Place of Rebirth,' 75, 165, 166, 173, 174.
Meskhenet, 165.
Mesopotamia, 81, 154.
Methusaleh, 114.
Middangeard, 153.
Midrash, 140.
Mirkhond, 84, 85, 86, 89, 105.
Moab, 141, 142.
Moabites, 140, 141.
Mohurram of Shia Muhammadans, 30.
Moses, 8, 83.
Mughârat al Arwâh, or 'Cave of Souls,' 102.
Muhammadans, 22.
Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, 125, 126, 130, 147.
Müller, C. O., 13.
—— K. O., 26, 61.
Mul-lil, 151.

NAN-GAR, 135.
Naubandhana, 126.
Nazarite, 83, 87, 89.
Ndembo, 41.
Nebi-Yunus, 145.
Nebo, 153.
Nechen, Mystery of, 167.
Nicodemus, 105-108.
Nile, 155, 162, 164, 169.
Nimrod, 114.
Nina, the 'Great Fish,' 159.
Ni-na-a, Nineveh, 157.
Nineveh, 104, 123, 137, 138, 141, 145, 157, 158.
Nin-gal, 134.
Ni-nu-a, Nineveh, 157.
Ninus, 145.
Noah, 88.
Nunu, a fish, 141, 145.

OANNES, 25, 83, 110, 128, 129, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 143, 145, 148, 160, 169.
Odysseus, descent into the infernal regions, 70.
Oes, identified with Hea or Ea, 111.
Onnes, 145.
Orpheus, 69.

Osiris, 75, 76, 164-168, 173.
Osiris-Seb, 164.
Ovid, 143.
Oxyrhynchus, 162.

PALESTINE, 139, 143, 154.
Pallium, 114.
Palmer, Professor, 159.
Palmyra, 120.
Panini, 161.
Paradise, 153.
Paul, 90.
Pausanias, 74, 170.
Pérétié Plaque, 120.
Periander, 170.
Persephone, 28, 61, 62, 69.
Perseus, 150.
Persian Gulf, 123, 127, 133.
Phagrus, 162.
Philistines, 140.
Phœnicia, 144, 160.
Phœnicians, 140.
Pinches, Mr. Theo. G., 152, 153.
Pindar, 160.
Plumptre, Dean, 86.
Plutarch, 15, 27, 76, 79, 138, 162, 172.
Polyhistor, 127.
Pradyumna, 125.
Prem Sâgar, or 'Ocean of Love,' 126.
'Prince of Peace,' 142.
Profession of a Benedictine, 91.
Proserpina, 31, 63, 70.
Proteus, 169.

RA, 166, 167, 172.
Rameses III., 116.
Rassam, Mr., 116.
Rav Annan, 103.
Rawlinson, Sir Henry, 152.
Rechabite, Rechab, 87, 110.
Red Sea, 22, 107.
Renouf, Le Page, 75, 167.
Restau, 164.
Rhys, Professor, 131, 164.
'Rider,' The, 87.
Rig-veda, 124, 147.
Rimmon, Samas and, 82.
Rome, 93, 114.

SADIKAN, 141.
Sais, 78.
Sakhrah, or Sacred Rock, at Jerusalem, 102, 103.
Salliman, 141.
Sallimmanu, 'the God of Peace,' 141.
Samas and Rimmon, 82.
Sambara, 125.
Sargon, 160.
Satapatha Brâhmana, 17, 57, 117, 127, 147.
Satyavrata, 126.
Sayce, Prof. A. H., 1, 72, 81, 82, 88, 116, 133, 141, 148, 159.
Scamander, 147.
Schrader, Prof., 138.
Sebak, 167, 168.
Semiramis, 138, 144, 145.
Semites, 149.
Shalmaneser, 141.
Shamanistic, 149.
Sheol, 99, 100, 103, 104, 150, 151, 152, 163.
Sippara, the Sun-god at, 116, 130.
Sisuthrus, 88.
Siva, 125.
Skins as Vestments, 32.
Smith, W. Robertson, 111, 113.
Solomon, 141, 142, 143.
Sprenger, 174.
Stanley, Dean, 144.
Stephanus Byzantinus, 160.
Stobaeus, 64.
Strabo, 15.
Sumerians, 136, 149.
Syria, 120, 137, 138, 140.
Syrian Venus, 144.
Syrians, 143.

TAHITIAN kings, 115.
Talmud, 101, 104, 113, 142.
Talmudists, 97, 165.
Tammuz, 25, 31, 82.
Tamtu, 149.
Tam-zi, 'The Sun of Life,' 88.

Tarshish, 105, 160.
Tawâf, at Mekka, 18.
Temen-Sallim, 141.
Tertullian, 109, 142.
Thavatth, 148.
Thebes, 115, 116, 163.
Thoth, 85, 115.
T'hôm or 'deep' of the Old Testament, 22, 149.
Thucydides, 1.
Tiamat, 22, 121, 148, 150, 151.
Tiavat, 148.
Tiglath-Pileser, 141.
Tilu, 'mound,' 153.
Timmuz or Dimmuz, 25.
Tul ellu, 'the pure or holy mound,' 153.
Tylor, Ed. B., 37.
Typhon, 143.

Ulysses, 169.
Upanayanam, the Hindu form of regeneration, 117.
Uz, 116.

Vedas, 130, 131, 132.
Vedis Aryans, 117, 136.
Venice, 144.
Venus, celestial, 140, 143, 144.
Virgil, 70, 169.
Vishnu, Dwarf Avatar, 17; Krishna Avatar, 125, 126, 130; Fish Avatar, 134, 139, 161.
Vivasat, 130.

Wai Ora Tane, the Water of Life, 38.
Warburton, 70.
Well of Souls, 102, 119.
'Widow's Son,' The, 85, 89.
Wiedmann, Professor, 162, 166.
Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, 24, 71, 115, 162, 163.
'Womb of Sheol,' 99, 100, 105, 119, 120, 127, 165, 174.

Xisuthrus, the Chaldean Noah, 129.

Yajnopavita, or Brahmanical cord, 57.
Yavanu, 'the Greek,' 160, 161.
Yoga, 130.
Yûnas, or Yunus, 85, 105, 145.
Yusuf, 89.

Zemzem, the well at Mekka, 104.
Zigarum, 149, 150.
Zikum, 149.
Zikura, 150.
Zoroastrian Initiation, 58.
Zoroastrians, 22.

Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

00087227

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hemendra Kothari
on 06 November, 2019